

THE AYYŪBID DOMED BUILDINGS OF SYRIA

VOLUME I

Text

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## SUMMARY

The historical context of this thesis is the period of Nūr al-Dīn and of the Ayyūbid dynasty, which spanned the years 541-658/1146-1260, in Syria. This period is characterised by a strong cultural continuity. Politically, a similar continuity may be observed; the policies of Nūr al-Dīn were followed by his Ayyūbid successors.

After an introduction dealing with the earlier history and architecture of Syria, the thesis deals with the surviving domed buildings of the Ayyūbid period. They number about 45. Each building is treated separately with a description and analysis of its plan, construction and decoration, together with a full analysis and translation of any inscriptions it may have. Most of the buildings are dated epigraphically and the approximate dates of the others have been suggested on the basis of comparison with the dated buildings. Earlier readings of these inscriptions are corrected where necessary. The accounts of the Arabic historians are systematically utilised to give as full a biography as possible of the notables mentioned in the inscriptions.

These buildings represent different architectural types; they include madrasas, turbas, mosques, ribāṭs, khānqāhs, maqāms and mashhads. Most of these buildings are to be found in Damascus and Aleppo. The majority of the Damascus buildings are turbas built on the slope of the Qāsyūn mountain. The military atmosphere which was an inevitable feature of the Crusades had a powerful influence on architecture. The class



of military leaders which arose recorded its triumphs by erecting monuments, especially turbas. Many madrasas were also built, presumably as a result of the declaration of the Sunni madhhab as the official one. The founding of other religious buildings such as khānqāhs, mashhads, and ribāṭs by the rulers was merely to gain support in war from Sūfīs, pious men and jurists.

The dome represents a major feature in all these buildings. These domes are of different architectural types according to their geographical distribution. The materials used have the strongest influence in forming these types. Good quality stone of various types is found in northern Syria around Aleppo; therefore most buildings in Aleppo are constructed of cut stone. There is, however, no good stone in the Damascus area and thus only the lower portions of the exteriors of buildings there were faced with carefully cut stone, while the interior parts were mostly plastered. Stucco or painted decoration was executed on this layer of plaster. Brick was employed as a secondary material in constructing the higher parts of Damascus domes. The architectural elements of Syrian domes display a mixture of local architectural traditions with other forms imported from Mesopotamia, Persia, Anatolia and Egypt, but the local features are dominant.

The recessed square plan of most Ayyūbid turbas, whether isolated or attached to other buildings, can be traced to models in Syrian architecture of the pre-Islamic period. The distinctive plan of Syrian madrasas is also dependant upon local architectural traditions, mixed with foreign features.

The transition zones of Syrian domed buildings of the Ayyūbid period are closely linked to pre-Islamic architecture in the region. The particular form of pyramidal pendentive which is employed in Aleppo and northern Syria does not differ greatly from its original prototype in Ladakia. Although the spherical pendentive is very rare in the Ayyūbid buildings of Syria a pendentive which blends the spherical and pyramidal types occurs in Damascus.

The squinch is the principal element in forming the transition zone of the majority of the Ayyūbid domed buildings of Damascus. It is derived from a Sasanian prototype. Although squinches similar to those in the domed buildings of Damascus are found all over the Islamic world, and although the two superposed drums of the transition zone of these domes are also found elsewhere, the transition zone in these buildings has its own particular form distinguished by the distribution of windows, squinches and niches.

Mugarnases, which were imported in the first place from Mesopotamia, were richly developed in northern Syria in this period. They were employed to cover the inner surface of semi-domes over portal bays, in some transition zones and, in Damascus, even to form whole domes.

The shells of Ayyūbid domes in Syria are constructed wholly of brick in all the Damascus buildings; the same is true of most of the Ayyūbid buildings in northern Syria. Some shells in Aleppo are, however, constructed of smoothly cut stone. In Damascus, some shells are ribbed while others are smooth. However, the shape of the shell cannot be taken as a guide to classifying Ayyūbid domes. A much better index

is the nature of the transition zone and certain other features, such as the profile of the shell, the plan and the materials used. On this basis Ayyūbid domes can be classified into the following categories:

- A - The Damascus type of two superposed zones: the 16-sided zone is visible in the interior and on the exterior.
- B - Mugarnas domes.
- C - The Aleppo domes with pyramidal pendentives.
- D - A composite type combining the features of A and C.
- E - The Aleppo type of two superposed zones: the 16-sided zone is only visible in the interior.

A number of other individual architectural features may be noted in these buildings. Their lower openings are topped by lintels crowned, in turn, by segmental arches. Several variations on this theme may be found.

The most common form of arch in the Ayyūbid architecture of Syria is the two-centred pointed arch. Other types of arches were employed decoratively, such as the horse-shoe arch and the lobed arch.

Cornices of the Ayyūbid period are a development of pre-Islamic Syrian cornices.

Shell-shaped semi-domes, which are of Hellenistic origin, are commonly employed in Ayyūbid domed buildings in Syria, particularly in Damascus.

A novel feature of applied decoration in stone is the use of interlaced angular strapwork, which first appears in Aleppo. The other type of stone decoration which is first found in this period is striped masonry. It appeared first

in Damascus and was then employed in Syria and Egypt.

Stucco ornament is found in most of the interiors of the Ayyūbid domed buildings of Damascus. The most common features of this decoration are frames which border architectural features and scrolls which adorn the spandrels of the square base and those of the transition zone; both frames and scrolls occur on both the exterior and the interior. In addition to these features, medallions, disks, inscriptions and window grilles are all executed in stucco.

Paint was employed in some domed buildings of Damascus. It was used for medallions of either arabesque or geometrical design in the interior, and Damascus boasts the earliest surviving Syrian dome painted on the exterior.

Among the other types of decoration which appear for the first time in this period is marble mosaic which occurs already in a highly developed phase in Damascus during the reign of Nūr al-Dīn.

The inscriptions are all written in Ayyūbid naskh except two decorative examples of Kufic. The texts contain the name of the founder, the name of the buried person - if the building is a turba - and also the date. In some inscriptions even a short biography of the deceased is given. Most of the texts contain Koranic verses which reflect the purpose of the building.

The second and the third volumes of this thesis contain the illustrations, which total 428 drawings and photographs. The photographs show the buildings in their present condition. The photographs of some of the buildings before restoration

are taken from the originals in the possession of the S.D.A. For most of the buildings of this thesis, ground plans, elevations and horizontal and vertical sections have been drawn on the basis of field work in Syria. In addition, some drawings have been taken from the S.D.A. originals and earlier published sources. These are acknowledged on the drawings.

The Ayyūbid domed buildings of Syria illustrate a coherent and integrated style of architecture and decoration. This style is a fascinating blend of native and foreign elements and is thus worthy of study in its own right. But it is also of importance as a link between the earlier Fāṭimid and Saljūq periods and the later Mamlūk period. Lastly, these buildings, and especially their inscriptions, are a useful guide to the political, religious and military aspects of Ayyūbid society.

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I would like to express my gratitude to all those who have helped me in so many ways for their valuable contributions, which have always been appreciated. In particular I would like to thank the Iraqi Government, as represented by the University of Mosul, for providing the opportunity for further study; the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for giving financial assistance during my first two years of study and for bearing the cost of this thesis; the Syrian Directorate of Antiquities for making information concerning the buildings available to me; the late Professor D. Talbot Rice for his supervision of the early stages of this thesis; Dr. M.V. McDonald for reading the Arabic translation; Mr. R. Hillenbrand, my supervisor, for contributing so much of his time to my thesis and for his helpful and valuable suggestions; and finally the Librarians of the National Library of Scotland, the Library of Edinburgh University and the Departmental Libraries of Edinburgh University.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A.A.S.</u>	<u>Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie</u>
<u>A.I.</u>	<u>Ars Islamica</u>
<u>B.I.F.A.O.</u>	<u>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</u>
" <u>EMA</u> "	K.A.C. Creswell, " <u>Early Muslim Architecture</u> ", Oxford, 1932-40.
<u>J.R.I.B.A.</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects</u>
" <u>MAD</u> "	J. Sauvaget and M. Écochard, " <u>Les Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas</u> ", Paris, 1938 - 50.
" <u>MAE</u> "	K.A.C. Creswell " <u>The Muslim Architecture of Egypt</u> ", Oxford, 1952-59.
" <u>MHD</u> "	J. Sauvaget, " <u>Les Monuments Historiques de Damas</u> " Beirut, 1938.
n.d.	No date.
S.D.A.	The Syrian Directorate of Antiquities.
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EI<sup>1</sup>

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EI<sup>2</sup>

The Encyclopaedia of Islam  
 Leiden and London,  
 1960-71.

## Preface

The historical importance of Syria and its geographical situation in the confluence of western and eastern cultures had a strong effect on the development of its architecture. The purpose of this thesis is to present the architecture of one of the most important periods of Syrian history, the Ayyūbid period, with particular reference to the domed buildings.

The majority of the Islamic buildings of Syria have been studied to a certain degree. E. Herzfeld, for example, published his work "Damascus: Studies in Architecture" in Ars Islamica between 1942 and 1948 but, in the main, it was a study of the inscriptions of Damascus. Another work, "Les Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas", was published between 1938 and 1950 by J. Sauvaget and M. Écochard, but this work dealt with only a few of the Ayyūbid buildings of Damascus. However, these earlier works contain good records of the buildings and their condition at that time.

The main sources of this thesis are the domed buildings themselves. Each of these buildings is described with drawings, sections and detailed analysis, and an attempt is made to place it within its historical context.

Historical sources have been extensively employed in dealing with the identification of the buildings. Particular attention is paid to the works of those who lived during the events of the Ayyūbid period, such as 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, Ibn Wāṣil and Abū Shāma, or those



who lived in Syria even after the Ayyūbid period, such as Ibn Kathīr and al-Nuʿaimī.

Some readings of the inscriptions which are published in Herzfeld's works or in the "Répertoire" have been corrected in this thesis.

The system of transliteration followed in this thesis is slightly different from that of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, for example j is used for ج, and q for ق; ق occurs mostly as "ī" or "ai" as in Ḥusain, and when it is doubled (shadda) it is transliterated "iy" as in al-Khātūniya and al-Nūriya.

Finally, the aim of this work is to give a clear idea of Syrian architecture in the Ayyūbid period. Close study of the Ayyūbid domed buildings made it possible to distinguish several groups. The buildings in each of these groups contain common architectural features thus permitting their division into distinctive styles.

## INTRODUCTION.

Syria, at the time of the Arab conquest, was full of magnificent monuments representing the various architectural styles of its successive occupants. The Arabs adopted some of what was there, and their architecture was greatly influenced by local Syrian and Byzantine art.

At first, they converted churches or parts of churches into mosques, but shortly after they settled there, they erected many impressive religious and secular buildings. This was at the time when the Umayyad dynasty took Damascus as its capital in 41/661. Some of these buildings still remain, such as the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad Mosque, al-Masjid al-Aqṣā and the desert palaces: al-Mashatta, Quṣair 'Amra, Ḥammām al-Ṣarākh and so on. Characteristics and features of pre-Islamic architecture appear strongly in these buildings and the Muslim architect of Syria could not completely rid himself of these influences even in his later works during the Ayyūbid period. However, it was in Syria that the earliest development of an art which can truly be termed Islamic took place.<sup>1</sup>

The fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the moving of the capital from Syria to Mesopotamia in 132/750 caused Syria to become a secondary state under the domination of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. Syria was then captured by the Fāṭimīds of Egypt

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1. D. Talbot Rice, "Islamic Art" (London, 1965), p. 10.

in 358/968; they ruled it until 468/1075. Apparently nothing of architectural worth survives from that period, except buildings at Raqqa which is, from the geographical point of view, Mesopotamian.

With the arrival of the first crusade in Syria and the capture of Jerusalem in 492/1099, attention was lavished upon Syria, which became from that time on a battlefield for four centuries. It was the scene for a continuous struggle for power between the local governors of Syrian cities, between the Crusader princes, and above all between the Muslims and the Crusaders. At that time Syria was ruled by Saljūq princes. In 471/1078 it was granted to the brother of Malik-Shāh, Tutush, whose successors ruled Damascus and Aleppo after his death in 478/1085. Damascus was handed on to his son Duqāq and his other son Riḍwān received Aleppo. Riḍwān was succeeded by his atābik Tughtigīn (497-522/1104-1128) who died leaving his son Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī as governor of Damascus. A whole succession of other princes ruled Damascus: Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'īl Ibn Būrī who died in 529/1135, Maḥmūd Ibn Būrī who died in 533/1139, Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Būrī who died in 534/1140 and Mujīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Būrī who was defeated by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī in 549/1154.

Aleppo was considered a part of Syria and was ruled by the governors of Egypt during the Ṭulūnid and the Ikhshīd periods. The Egyptian governors returned to Aleppo after a short period corresponding to the Ḥamdānid dynasty, between 333 and 402/944-1011. It was dominated by the

Fāṭimids, and then by the Mirdāsids between 415 and 457/1024-1065.

The division between the Syrian territories was ended by the domination of the Saljūqs who made it their professed aim to reunite all Muslims in allegiance to the 'Abbāsids.<sup>1</sup> Aleppo and Damascus were both ruled by Malik-Shāh who appointed Āq-Sunqur as a governor of Aleppo in 479/1086. In 478/1094 Āq-Sunqur was killed in battle and was replaced by Riḍwān Ibn Tutush. The latter was succeeded by his two sons, first Alp-Arslān Shāh and then Sulṭān Shāh whose reign was ended by the Urtuqids.

The Urtuqid dynasty ruled Aleppo between 511 and 522/1117-1128; Īl-Ghāzī Ibn Urtuq died in 516/1122; Sulaimān Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Urtuq who died in 517/1123; Buluk Ibn Bahrām Ibn Urtuq who died in 518/1224; Tīmūrtāsh Ibn Īl-Ghāzī Ibn Urtuq; Āq-Sunqur al-Bursuqī, the lord of Mosul, who died in 520/1126; and 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd.

In 522/1128 Aleppo was captured by 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, the founder of the Atābikid dynasty of Mosul, who died in 541/1146 leaving his two sons Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd in Aleppo and Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī in Mosul. Nūr al-Dīn united Damascus and Aleppo under his rule and he carried on the programme of religious revival which he had started at Aleppo, by the foundation of madrasas and other religious buildings. He followed the Saljūq programme of promulgating Sunni doctrines.

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1. H.A.R. Gibb, "The Caliphate and the Arab States" in K.M. Setton and M.W. Baldwin, eds., "A History of the Crusades" (Philadelphia, 1955) I, p. 97.

He changed the Shī'ite call to prayer into the Sunni one in 543/1148, and he announced that the Sunni rite was to be the official one in Aleppo,<sup>1</sup> which had been dominated until then by the Shī'ites.

In 567/1171 he ordered Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to remove the Fāṭimid caliphate and to proclaim the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

The Nūrid and the Ayyūbid periods left many architectural remains and most of these monuments are either military or religious buildings. The reasons for this are set out below. Firstly, with the declaration of the Sunnī rite as the official rite of the state there was a need for propaganda to counteract that of the Shī'ites and to train qualified staff to administer the state. These officials could best be trained in madrasas, so large numbers of these were founded. Secondly, there were the Crusades. Whatever the reasons for these wars, the strongest opposition from the Muslims was on religious grounds, and it was necessary for Nūr al-Dīn and his successors - who were imitated by their princes and followers - to gain support in war from the Ṣūfīs, pious men and jurists and to found for them madrasas, khānqāhs, ribāṭs and Dūr al-Ḥadīth. Nūr al-Dīn was the first who founded a Dār al-Ḥadīth in Islām.<sup>3</sup>

From the list which 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād gives of the madrasas of Damascus and Aleppo, we learn that in Damascus

1. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, "Mir 'āt al-Zamān", (Hyderabad, 1951) VIII, p. 199.

2. Ibn Wāṣil, "Mufarrij al-Kurūb", ed. J. Al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1953), I, p. 210.

3. Ibn Wāṣil, I, p. 284.

Nūr al-Dīn founded four madrasas,<sup>1</sup> while in Aleppo he founded six madrasas.<sup>2</sup> In addition to that he founded and rebuilt in Damascus nine small mosques<sup>3</sup> and a khānqāh<sup>4</sup> and he founded two khānqāhs at Aleppo.<sup>5</sup> Besides this, many other madrasas were founded in Damascus by his followers and lieutenants.<sup>6</sup> The works of Nūr al-Dīn outside Aleppo and Damascus are described by the historians, and some of these works are still to be seen. Ibn Khallikān says that Nūr al-Dīn founded madrasas in all of the main cities of Syria, such as Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥoms, Baʿalbak, Manbij and al-Raqqā. He also founded Jāmiʿ al-Nūrī at Mosul and endowed it with enough money to maintain it, and he founded the Jāmiʿ which is on al-ʿĀṣī River (Orontes) and also Jāmiʿ al-Ruhā (Urfa or Edessa) and Jāmiʿ Manbij.<sup>7</sup> He granted the Sūfīs and the poor sums of money, saying that they were the soldiers of God and that by their invocations and blessings he would triumph.<sup>8</sup> Ibn Wāṣil states that Nūr al-Dīn founded ribāṭs and khānqāhs throughout the

1. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, "Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīra fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shām wa ʿl-Jazīra, Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq", ed. by S. Dahān, (Damascus, 1375/1956) pp. 203,218,240 and 245 (cited hereinafter as Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus").
2. Ibn Shaddād, "Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīra fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shām wa ʿl-Jazīra", I, part I, ed. by D. Sourdēl, (Damascus, 1953), pp. 10,105,110,113 and 121 (cited hereinafter as Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo").
3. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", pp. 104,111,112,121,124,125 and 151.
4. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 192.
5. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", pp. 93 and 95.
6. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", pp. 205,210,211,234-5 and 237.
7. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-Aʿyān (Cairo, 1310/1892), II,p.88.
8. Ibn Kathīr, Al-Bidāya wa ʿl-Nihāya (Beirut, 1966) XII, p. 281.



land and endowed them generously; and he used to attend the Sūfīs' meetings and supported their cause.<sup>1</sup>

As the state was continually at war with the Crusaders, it is natural that great attention was paid to surrounding the cities with walls and fortifications. Nūr al-Dīn built towers on the routes between the Muslims and the Franks and he supplied them with carrier-pigeons to carry warnings of the movements of the enemy.<sup>2</sup> He surrounded all his cities such as Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ḥomṣ, Damascus, Bārīn, Shaizar, Manbij, and other castles and fortresses with walls and fortifications.<sup>3</sup> Nūr al-Dīn founded Dūr al-ʿAdl, (houses of justice) and he himself sat in audience to deal with complaints, especially against the officers of his army and the administrators.<sup>4</sup> His programme was followed precisely by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and to some extent by the other Ayyūbid governors. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn joined the campaigns sent by Nūr al-Dīn to Egypt under the leadership of Asad al-Dīn Shīrkuḥ who became the minister of the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid. After the death of Shīrkuḥ in 564/1169, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was appointed as the minister of al-ʿĀḍid.

In 567/1171, on the order of Nūr al-Dīn, he removed the Fāṭimid caliphate and proclaimed the ʿAbbāsīd caliphate in Egypt.<sup>5</sup> Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn thereupon founded many madrasas to promulgate the Sunnī rite in Egypt. Thus, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn

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1. Ibn Wāṣil, I, p. 283.

2. Ibid., loc.cit.

3. Ibid., loc.cit.

4. Ibn Kathīr, XII, p. 280.

5. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, "Zubdat al-Ḥalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalb", ed. S. Dahān, (Damascus, 1954), II, p. 333.

was probably the first to bring the design of the madrasa from Syria to Egypt although the idea of the Sunnī madrasa was known in Egypt even before the proclamation of the Sunnī rite.<sup>1</sup>

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn founded his first madrasa in Egypt in 566/1170 during the Fāṭimid period, and it was known as al-Madrasa al-Nāṣiriya.<sup>2</sup> In the same year he founded another madrasa called al-Madrasa al-Qamḥiya.<sup>3</sup>

In 579/1183 one of the palaces of the Fāṭimids - Manāzil al-‘Izz - was converted into a madrasa by Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar Ibn Shāhanshāh Ibn Ayyūb.<sup>4</sup> The death of Nūr al-Dīn in 569/1174 paved the way for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to dominate Syria and Egypt after some struggles with the followers of Nūr al-Dīn who supported his son al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl.<sup>5</sup>

All the power of the state of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was then concentrated against the Crusaders and it became strong enough to meet the challenge from the west and to capture Jerusalem in Rajab 583/October 1187.

The unity of the Syrian cities and Egypt, which was

1. A. Fikrī, "Masājīd al-Qāhira wa Madārisuha", (Cairo, 1969), II, p. 49. Madrasas of the Fāṭimid period included al-Madrasa al-Masrūriya in Cairo which was founded by Masrūr, the servant, at the end of the Fāṭimid period (Al-Maqrīzī, "Al-Khiṭaṭ", (Cairo, 1270/1853), II, p. 378), al-Madrasa al-‘Awniya, 532/1138 and al-Madrasa al-Salafiya 546/1151.
2. Al-Maqrīzī, op.cit., II, pp. 363-4.
3. Ibid., II, p. 364.
4. Ibn Wāṣil, I, p. 199.
5. On these struggles see Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, "Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn", (Cairo, 1317/1899), pp. 38-39; Ibn Wāṣil, II, pp. 17-21; and Ibn Kathīr, XII, p. 288.



the result of the efforts of Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn over 38 years, was ruined by the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 589/1193. After his death his kingdom was ruled jointly by three main powers led by his three sons; al-Afdal 'Alī in Damascus and its surroundings, al-'Azīz 'Uthmān in Egypt and al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī in Aleppo and its surroundings. Besides these, there were many other minor powers: Ẓāhir al-Dīn Ṭuġhtikīn Ibn Ayyūb in Yaman, al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn at Karak and al-Shūbak and the eastern territories of Syria, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn Taqī al-Dīn at Ḥamā, Salamiya, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Manbij and Qal'at Najm, Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Shīrkūh at al-Raḥba and Tadmur (Palmyra), al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrām Shāh Ibn Farrūkhshāh at Ba'albak, and many other cities under other princes.<sup>1</sup> After seven years of struggle between Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's sons, al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn managed to sweep away his rivals and dominate all of Egypt and Syria except Aleppo, which was ruled by al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī and his successors, al-Malik al-'Azīz Maḥmūd and then al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf II, who was killed by the Mongols in 658/1260.

The state of al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn was divided again after his death in 615/1218 between his sons; Egypt under al-Kāmil, Damascus under al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā, and al-Jazīra, Khalāṭ and Harrān under the reign of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā.<sup>2</sup> Damascus was ruled after the death of al-Mu'aẓẓam in 624/1226

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1. Ibn Wāṣil, III, pp. 3-4.

2. On the situation after the death of al-'Ādil see Ibn Wāṣil, III, pp. 274-5, and Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 80.

by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Mawdūd, al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, al-Malik al-Jawād Yūnus Ibn Mawdūd Ibn al-ʿĀdil and al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb Ibn al-Kāmil.

The Ayyūbid dynasty in Egypt ended with the assassination of Turān Shāh Ibn al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb by the Baḥrid Mamlūks in 648/1250. In the same year Damascus was captured by the governor of Aleppo al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf II, and it stayed under his rule until the Mongol invasion in 658/1260, which marked the end of the Ayyūbids in Syria.

A glance at this period and at the relationship between the Muslims and the Franks and between the governors of each side with their continuous wars would probably give the impression that the Ayyūbids concentrated on military buildings only. But taking into account the Ayyūbid monuments which are still standing, it becomes obvious that in its surviving monuments the Ayyūbid period was the richest one in Syria's history. There are considerably more madrasas in Damascus dating from that period than from any other period. These madrasas were founded not only by the governors but also by the princes and the military leaders.

Another kind of building is to be found in Damascus from the Nūrid period and onwards. This is the turba. Reasons for the excessive use of turbas in Syria during this period and for their concentration on the Qāsyūn mountain are given in this research.<sup>1</sup>

The Syrian Directorate of Antiquities is too weak to take over all the historical buildings and to oppose the

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1. See infra, pp. 277-84

domination of the Ministry of al-Awqāf over most of the turbas and madrasas. Many turbas and madrasas have been converted to serve other purposes or are used as mosques.<sup>1</sup> This conversion causes some openings to be blocked up or some walls to be opened or partitions to be removed or to be added, and in addition the wrong paint or coatings are used.<sup>2</sup> Some of the buildings dealt with in this work have been converted into properties that would be very hard to enter to take the required measurements or photographs; Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya at the Ṣālihiya is a store for empty boxes and a refuse dump for the surrounding shops; al-Turba al-Amjadiya is a hencoop; al-Turba al-Najmiya is a wood store and Turbat Raiḥān is a kitchen for a neighbouring house. Some of the turbas are locked and the keys of them have been lost. The only way to get into them is to break down their doors and to have them repaired at your own expense - and to do this you need to get the permission of the Ministry of al-Awqāf. Some examples are al-Turba al-'Alima, Turbat al-Ḥasan Ibn Salāma al-Raqqī, al-Turba al-Faranthiya and al-Turba al-'Alā'iya. Finally there are some buildings surrounded on all sides by houses belonging to very conservative families; and as access to these buildings can only

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1. Such as al-Turba al-Qarājiya, al-Madrassa al-Nūriya, al-Madrassa al-Farrūkhshāhiya, al-Madrassa al-Jahārkasiya, al-Madrassa al-Māridāniya, al-Madrassa al-Rukniya, al-Madrassa al-Ḥalawiya, al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya, al-Madrassa al-Sulṭāniya and al-Madrassa al-Sharafiya.
  2. During my visit to al-Māristān al-Qaimarī in summer 1970, it was being repaired by the Ministry of al-Awqāf and the stonework walls were being covered with cement mortar.

be gained through these houses this presents difficulties even greater than those of the lost keys.

Although the S.D.A. has succeeded in taking over the most important monuments in Damascus and other parts of Syria, there are many other monuments such as Turbat Ibn Timīrak, al-Turba al-Qarājiya, Turbat Raihān and Turbat Mithqāl which need to be protected or at least to be registered as historical buildings.

The process of modernizing and developing Damascus to accompany industrial growth requires the planning of wide streets through the ancient city, and this sometimes causes historical buildings to be demolished. That is what happened recently when Turbat Ṣafwat al-Mulk,<sup>1</sup> al-Madrassa al-Shibliya<sup>2</sup> and a part of al-Madrassa al-Nūriya<sup>3</sup> were demolished with the agreement of the S.D.A.

This work deals with 43 domed buildings distributed between Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥamā, Ba'albak, and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān. These buildings contain 88 domes excluding 15 semi-

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1. Concerning this building before it was demolished see E. Herzfeld, "Studies in Architecture, Damascus: I", Ars Islamica, IX (1942) pp. 50-53. This work was published in A.I. IX, X, XI-XII and XIII-XIV; it is cited hereinafter as Herzfeld, "Damascus. I, II, III or IV". On this turba see also J. Sauvaget and M. Écochard, "Les Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas" (Paris, 1938) pp. 1-25 (cited in this work as "Sauvaget, MAD"); J. Sauvaget, "Les Monuments Historiques de Damas" (Beirut, 1932), p. 49 (cited hereinafter as "Sauvaget, MHD").
  2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 33-55 and Figs. 76-9.
  3. Infra, p. 25 .

domes of portals and recesses. The buildings comprise madrasas, turbas, mashhads, maqāms, khānqāhs and mosques. During my stay in Syria in summer 1970 and spring 1972, I was able to obtain all the required photographs and measurements and I checked all the inscriptions concerning these buildings. All the plans, sections and elevations are drawn according to my own measurements, but for lack of the required instruments I could not get the exact measurements of the very high parts of the domes. Therefore the apparent form of the domes and the thickness of their apices are drawn in accordance with the exact measurements made by the S.D.A. for five of the Ayyūbid domes of Damascus. Most of the Islamic buildings of Syria have been studied and published. But apart from the work of Sauvaget and Écochard, "Les Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas", which deals with some Ayyūbid domed buildings, these works only deal with the inscriptions or the topography of the city. Herzfeld has published a general study of the Islamic architecture of Damascus and Aleppo with special reference to the inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> However, no one has devoted himself exclusively to a study of the architecture of Ayyūbid buildings, in particular to the domes which form the most impressive part of the architecture.

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus" and idem, "Matériaux pour un corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Deuxième partie, Syrie du Nord, Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep" (Cairo, 1954-6). (This is cited hereinafter as Herzfeld, "Aleppo").

This work is divided into five chapters. The first four chapters are a history and delineation of the domed buildings as they are now, arranged chronologically.

The fifth chapter is a comparative study of these domes, an analysis of their features and a study of the factors which influenced their development. I hope this work will fill a gap in the history of Islamic architecture.

## CHAPTER I

## The Nūrid Domed Buildings of Damascus

## Section 1.

## Al-Māristān al-Nūrī

The word bīmāristān is often shortened to māristān from the Persian bīmār (sick) and the suffix -stān (place).<sup>1</sup> Although the bīmāristān was known in Islam since the first century, under the name of dār al-shifā (the house of recovery), it was in the Nūrid period that the bīmāristān reached the height of its development.

The two bīmāristāns which still exist at Damascus - the bīmāristān of Nūr al-Dīn and that of al-Qaimarī<sup>2</sup> - show that the bīmāristān was built on the same plan as the typical madrasa, but that the usual prayer hall on the south side of the madrasa was replaced by an īwān.

The bīmāristān of Nūr al-Dīn is situated inside the walls of Damascus, about 100 metres south of the Castle. It was built by Nūr al-Dīn in 549/1154, as the inscriptions affirm, and it is said that Nūr al-Dīn founded this bīmāristān with the ransom of an unknown Crusader King.<sup>3</sup> In 635/1237 other units were added to the original building by Badr al-Dīn, the son of the qāḍī of Ba'albak, who was the head of all the

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1. The word is bīmāristān or māristān (EI<sup>2</sup> s.v. Bīmāristān), but not mūristān as Herzfeld states ("Damascus. I" p. 2).
  2. On al-Bīmāristān al-Qaimarī see Herzfeld, "Damascus. III" pp. 27-38.
  3. Al-Nu'aimī, "Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris" ed. J. al-Ḥasanī (Damascus, 1948-51), I, p. 611.



physicians at that time;<sup>1</sup> that addition was probably the courtyard and the chambers adjacent to the building from the south.

The chamber to the right of the entrance was restored during the reign of al-Zāhir Baibars.<sup>2</sup> In 682/1283, during the reign of Qalāwūn, some parts of the building were restored and the fountain to the south of the entrance was added.<sup>3</sup> The last chamber which is to the right of the entrance was restored again at the time of Arghun shāh in 749/1348 under the reign of Sulṭān Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan.<sup>4</sup> The building was used as a bīmāristān until another hospital was founded in 1317/1899. The building was then taken over as an orphanage for Muslim girls; in 1937 it became a school, and has remained so up to the present day.

The Syrian Directorate of Antiquities restored this building between 1938 and 1945 and removed the ugly coating of plaster which covered the exterior of its mugarnases and the intrados of the vaults of the īwāns. The Directorate also restored the stucco window grills, copying the one well preserved window.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ş. Munajjid, "Bīmāristān Nūr al-Dīn" (Damascus, 1949) p. 15.

2. Ibid., loc.cit.

3. Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 50.

4. Munajjid, "Bīmāristān", p. 15.

5. Ibid., p. 17. A photograph of this window grill is published by Sauvaget, "Notes sur quelques monument musulmans en Syrie", Syria, XXIV, (1944-5), pl. XIX, 1.



The inscriptions:

The oldest inscription of the bīmāristān is engraved on the south side of the east īwān. It consists of one line of border and four lines of field. This inscription and all the inscriptions mentioned in this work are of Ayyūbid naskh script unless another description is given.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا ما امر بإتمام عمارته العبد  
الفاقر الى رحمة ربه في سنة رحمة لا للتجاوذه بل للمقام به مدة  
الاجل المحصى والعمر المقدر المقضى وذلك في سنة تسع واربعين وخمس مائة  
مولانا الملك العادل العالم العارف الزاهد نور الدين ركن الاسلام  
والمسلمين ابو القاسم محمود بن زنگي اقسقر ناصر امير المؤمنين

"Basmala...This is what was ordered to be completed in 549H<sup>2</sup> by the humble one, he who needs the mercy of God, in the vastness of his mercy; not for ostentation but for dwelling in it the length of the calculated span of life and the estimated and affixed age, our lord the just king, the erudite, the knowing, the ascetic Nūr al-Dīn, the supporter of Islam and the Muslims, Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Zangī b. Āq-Sunqur, the supporter of the Commander of the Faithful."

Another inscription is dated 682/1283 and it seems that it is a quotation from the original inscription of Nūr al-Dīn and was set up to record the second restoration.<sup>3</sup> It contains verses from the Koran (II, 264 and LXXIII, 20) and records

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1. This inscription is published by Herzfeld "Damascus. I", p. 3, and Et. Combe, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet "Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe" (Cairo, 1931-64) (= "Rep."), No. 3164.
  2. A.D. 1154.
  3. "Rep.", No. 4820.

the founding of the bīmāristān by Nūr al-Dīn and the making of waqf for it. It mentions that such parts of it as had been ruined were restored, and the bīmāristān was given extra endowments, in the reign of Qalāwūn, in the second ten days of Rabī' II 682 (A.D. July 1283).

A third inscription<sup>1</sup> in the chamber to the right of the entrance gives the details of another restoration which was restricted to the above-mentioned chamber in 749/1348 under the reign of Sulṭān Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan.

The 'Répertoire'<sup>2</sup> mentions an undated inscription bearing the name of Nūr al-Dīn, the founder of the bīmāristān, and consisting of two lines. It was situated on the shutters of the interior door. It read:

عزّ لمولانا الملك العادل العالم الزاهد المجاهد المربط المؤيد  
المظفر المنصور نور الدين ركن الاسلام، والمسلمين محي الدين فسي  
العالمين ناصر الحق بالبراهين منصف المظلومين من الظالمين قاتل  
الكفره، والمشركين ابي القاسم محمود بن زنكي بن اتسقر ناصر امير  
المؤمنين ادام الله ايامه .

"Glory to our lord the just King, the scholar, the ascetic, the fighter of the Holy War, the soldier, the assisted (by God), the triumphant, the victorious, Nūr al-Dīn, the supporter of Islām and the Muslims, the animator of religion in the two worlds, the defender of the truth through the proofs, the giver of justice to the oppressed against the oppressor, the killer of the infidels and polytheists Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmud Ibn Zangī Ibn Āq-Sunqur, the supporter of the Caliph, may God

1. Munajjid, "Bīmāristān", p. 38.

2. "Rep." No. 3310.

perpetuate his reign."

Herzfeld denies the existence of such an inscription on this site and he puts it among the inscriptions of al-Madrasa al-Nūriya.<sup>1</sup> However, this inscription no longer exists on the shutters of the interior door of the bīmāristān although Sauvaget, who copied this inscription himself after removing the coating of paint which covered it, confirms that it belongs to the bīmāristān.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Plan: Fig. I.

Most of the original bīmāristān still remains. It consists of a rectangular courtyard with a basin in the middle. All the units of the building are arranged symmetrically around the central courtyard. A large īwān stands in the middle of the east side and is flanked by two chambers. There are īwāns in the middle of both the north and the south sides. That on the north side is flanked by two small rooms, while the south one is flanked by two passages leading southwards into the southern annexe of the building. The west façade is similar to the east one but with a smaller īwān. From its three sides doorways open into the vestibule to the west and into the two chambers to the south and north. The main entrance at the west side of the building leads into a vestibule roofed by a stalactite dome. There are two deep wide recesses on the south and north sides. Each is roofed by a semi-dome composed of stalactites. The south recess opens into the

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1. "Damascus. I", pp. 4 and 43.

2. Sauvaget, "Notes I", p. 213.

maida'a (ablution place) at the south-east corner of the building.

The site plan of the bīmāristān is irregular; the south side is wider than the north one whereas they are shown as equally wide in Herzfeld's plan.<sup>1</sup>

The four large rooms at the corners were probably wards, each dealing with different kinds of illness. This conjecture is supported by statements of Ibn Abū Uṣaibi'a which indicate that there was a chamber for the insane (maḥrūrīn) and another chamber for those suffering from fever.<sup>2</sup>

The east īwān is said to have been the place where the patients were treated.<sup>3</sup> Although Herzfeld mentions that the īwāns of the bīmāristān were the consulting rooms of the physicians,<sup>4</sup> according to Ibn Abū Uṣaibi'a the east īwān only was the consulting place. He describes a day's work of one of the physicians of the bīmāristān, Abu 'l-Majd b. Abi 'l-Hakam, as follows:

"He visits the patients and gives them prescriptions. After doing that and visiting his private patients in the qal'a he comes back to the bīmāristān and sits in the great īwān of the bīmāristān, which is all carpeted ( مفروش ). He brings the books of the day's work. Nūr al-Dīn had endowed this bīmāristān with a large number of medical books which are kept in the two cabinets in the īwān. A group of physicians

1. "Damascus. I", p. 6 and Fig. I.

2. Ibn Abū Uṣaibi'a, "Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā", II, (Cairo, 1299/1882) pp. 242-3.

3. S. 'A. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, "Al-Bīmāristānāt fī 'l-Islam" (Beirut, 1946) p. 210.

4. "Damascus. I", p. 5.

and technicians come and sit before him. Then they all join in discussion on medical subjects, after which he teaches the students for three hours and then rides home".<sup>1</sup>

### The Construction:

Although the building has been restored many times since its foundation, its appearance has remained largely unchanged. It is built of cut stone with a mortar made from a mixture of sand, ash and calcium.<sup>2</sup> Rubble was used for the interior sides of the walls and brick in the dome over the vestibule. The four large rooms at the corners are roofed by cross vaults. The west, north and south īwāns are roofed by barrel vaults which appear in the façade as pointed arches (Fig. 2), while the east īwān is roofed with a domical vault.

The bay of the entrance is rectangular and is topped by a semi dome constructed of mugarnases. Sauvaget does not believe that the semi-dome of the portal was a part of the original building,<sup>3</sup> but Herzfeld maintains that the semi-dome with its spandrels and the ornamental frame on the three sides of the spandrels did all form part of the original structure.<sup>4</sup>

The opening of the entrance is bridged by an ornamental pediment. The two wooden shutters of the door are covered with plates of metal and decorated with a geometrical pattern

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1. Op. cit., p. 155.

2. Munajjid, "Bīmāristān", p. 22.

3. "MHD", p. 50.

4. "Damascus. I", p. 7.

of nail heads<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 3).

The semi-dome is composed of nine zones of muqarnases and is topped by a conch (Figs. 3-4). This complex of muqarnases rests upon the rather wide capitals that top a row of eight engaged colonnettes. It is the capitals which seem to provide the support of the muqarnas semi-dome. The panels between the columns are topped by broken-headed arches of the same design as those of Imām Dūr near Samarra and al-Arba'īn at Takrīt. The muqarnases are executed in such a way that every two form a base for another in the following zone.

The entrance leads into a square vestibule with a recess on each of the south and north sides crowned by a semi-dome. This semi-dome is composed of muqarnases like the semi-dome over the entrance, except that it is constructed of brickwork covered by moulded stucco, while that of the entrance is constructed of dressed stone. The two semi-domes over the recesses differ from each other in appearance. The south one rests on a wide zone of engaged colonnettes made of stucco. There are seven columns in all, three on the back wall and two on either side walls. Three small cell-like arches join the tops of every two columns and the front of the recess is marked by a pointed arch.

The whole weight of the semi-dome presumably rests on six

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1. Ibn Abū Uṣaibi'a states that most of the doors of the īmāristān are the work of Ibn al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Muhandis, who was a carpenter and sculptor and was known as al-muhandis (the engineer) because of his knowledge of engineering. After long self education he became a physician and worked in the bīmāristān as a doctor. He died in 599H. (op.cit., pp. 190-191).



points - the tops of all the columns except that in the middle of the back wall (Fig. 5). Two adjacent cells rise from the top of each of the six columns to form a right-angled base. They support, in turn, the whole composition, which consists of seven zones of cells surmounted by a conch of eight sectors. The front part of this complex is separated from the back. It consists of a chain of double cells on each side ending with two stalactites suspended about 15 cm. downwards. If these two semi-domes belong to the foundation period, then this is the earliest example of stalactites in Syria.

The semi-dome of the north recess has basically the same construction as that of the south one, but there are two additional columns at the corners. The separation between the front and the back in this semi-dome is not as clear as in the one on the south side. Moreover there are three stalactites on each side, i.e. six stalactites in all, and the panels between the engaged colonnettes are topped by decorative broken-headed arches (Fig. 6).

The arches of the recesses and the two openings on the east and west sides of the vestibule are topped by four vertical walls forming the square base of the mugarnas dome.

An inscription band runs along the four sides below the springing line of the dome, but it is interrupted by the recessed arches. It consists of verses from the Koran. A projecting cavetto moulding marks the springing of the dome. Above this are four windows on the main axes. The dome



consists of eleven zones of mugarnases. Its weight can be assumed to rest on sixteen points, represented by a pair of mugarnases flanking each of the four windows and a pair of mugarnases on either side of each of the four corners (Fig. 7).

The mugarnases are arranged in such a way that the groups of cells over the corners incline sharply towards the centre while the inclination over the axes is not so sharp. This irregularity ceases after the sixth zone and thereafter all the sides incline regularly towards the centre. The eleventh zone is crowned by a small dome with a rather high drum.

The exterior was hidden by a thick coating of plaster and it appeared to have an elliptical shape when the building was visited by Herzfeld<sup>1</sup> in 1914. The plaster was removed during the restoration of 1939 (Fig. 10). The exterior mirrors the interior composition, but the four lower zones are covered by a drum. The upper part, which is exposed, consists of seven zones. Each forms an irregular starlike figure with 24 points, except the eleventh zone which has 16 points. The backs of the mugarnases appear as triangles filling the angles of the starlike figures (Figs. 10-11). Originally most of the cells had a glass covered hole, except the first zone which differs from the others in its three sharp projections at each corner (Fig. 11).

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1. See Sauvaget, "Notes. 1", pl. XIX, 2.

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S.D.A. File No. 17.

## Section 2.

## Al-Madrassa al-Nūriya

The great madrassa of Nūr al-Dīn with his turba are situated at Darb al-Khawāṣīn<sup>1</sup> which is the site of the bazār nowadays. According to contemporary historians, it was a madrassa for the Ḥanafite madhhab,<sup>2</sup> as is affirmed by the inscription over the main entrance. However, there is no mention of the Shāfi'ites although Herzfeld tries to prove that it was for both madhhabs. He based his interpretation firstly on another inscription which used to be over the interior entrance and which stated that the madrassa was endowed for the Shāfi'ites,<sup>3</sup> and secondly on Ibn al-Athīr who says that Nūr al-Dīn built many madrassas for the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanbalites.<sup>4</sup> The inscription called Nūr al-Dīn 'mawlānā al-Sulṭān' (our lord the sulṭān). Nūr al-Dīn never was a sulṭān, thus the inscription cannot be original, but only a later substitute written when the title Sulṭān was a matter of course.<sup>5</sup>

The turba, which occupies the north-east corner of the building, does not form a part of the Nūriya but of al-Madrassa al-Najībiya, tomb of the prince Jamāl al-Dīn 'Aqqūsh al-Najībī,<sup>6</sup>

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1. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 203.

2. Ibid., p. 203; Abū Shāma, Al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn (Cairo, 1287/1870), I, p. 229.

3. "Rep." No. 3292.

4. Ibn al-Athīr, "Al-Kāmil fī 'l-Tārīkh", ed. C.J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851-76), XII, p. 267.

5. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 43.

6. This turba was built originally to contain the tomb of its founder, but he died in Cairo and was buried there in 677/1278 (Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 281).

governor of Damascus in the reign of Baibars;<sup>1</sup> he died in 677/1278. It was a madrasa for the Shāfi'ites, and according to Creswell the cause of the confusion was probably due to the fact that the man who ordered al-Madrasa al-Najībiya to be built treated these two adjacent madrasas as one.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Madrasa al-Nūriya was begun in 563<sup>3</sup>/1167 and was finished in 567/1171. Like most of the monuments of Damascus, the inscription bearing the foundation date was engraved on the lintel of the main entrance. It consists of six lines.

— بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>4</sup> أمر بإنشاء هذه المدرسة المباركة  
الملك العالم الزاهد نور الدين أبو القاسم محمود بن زنكي بن أقسنقر  
— ضاعف الله ثوابه ووقفها على أصحاب الإمام سراج الأمة أبي حنيفة رضي الله  
عنه ووقف عليها وعلى الفقهاء والمتفقهة  
— بها جميع الحمام المستجد بسوق القمح<sup>5</sup> والحمامين المستجدين بالوراقه  
خارج باب اللامه والدار المجاوره لهما والوراقه بعونية الحمصي وجنية  
— الوزير والنصف والرابع من بستان الجوزة بالارزة والاحد والعشرين حادوتا خارج  
باب الجايه والساحه الملاصقه لهما من  
— الشرق والتسعه الحقول بداريا على ما نص وشرح في كتاب الوقف رغبة في  
الاجر والشواب وتقدمة بين يديه يوم الحساب فمن  
شيدله بعدما سمعه فانما اتمه على اللذين يبدلونه ان الله سميع عليم  
وذلك في مدة اخرها شعبان سنة سبع وستين وخمس مائه .

"Basmala...The just king, the ascetic Nūr al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim  
Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī Ibn Āq-Sunqur, may God double his reward,

1. Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 54.

2. K.A.C. Creswell, "The Muslim Architecture of Egypt"  
(Oxford, 1959), II, p. 111.

3. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 203.

4. Published in "Rep." No. 3294.

5. "Rep." has القمح while it is in fact القمح.

has ordered this blessed madrasa to be founded. He dedicated it to the disciples of the Imām, the light of the nation, Abū Ḥanīfa, may God be gracious to him. For its maintenance and for the teachers and the students he endowed the totality of the new bath at Sūq al-Qamḥ, the two new baths at the Wirāqa outside the Gate of al-Salāma and their neighbouring house, the paper factory at 'Uwainat al-Himṣī, the garden of al-Wazīr, the half and the quarter of the garden of al-Jawza at al-Urza and the twenty-one shops outside the Gate of al-Jabiya and the land adjacent to it from the east and the nine farms at Daria. That is according to what has been registered and explained in the contracts of the waqf in hope for reward and recompense and as an offering to God at doomsday. Anyone who changes it after having knowledge of it commits a crime which will fall back on those who imitate it. Indeed God is all-hearing and all-knowing.<sup>1</sup> That was completed in Sha'bān 567H".<sup>2</sup>

Formerly there was another inscription over the lintel of the inner door of the vestibule<sup>3</sup> and it is this which caused Herzfeld to conclude that the building was a madrasa for both the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanafites. He believed the inscription to be of the same age as the previous one,<sup>4</sup> even though the details of the endowments were different.

According to Herzfeld there was a third inscription in the

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1. Koran, II, 181. The edition of the Koran used in this thesis is that ed. by M.A. Ṣabīḥ (Cairo, 1355/1936).

2. A.D. April 1172.

3. "Rep." No. 3292.

4. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 43.

madrasa published in the "Répertoire" but wrongly placed among the inscriptions of the bīmāristān.<sup>1</sup> Sauvaget confirms that he uncovered the inscription after removing the coating of paint from the shutters of the inner door in the bīmāristān.<sup>2</sup>

### Plan and Elevation (Fig. 12)

Successive restorations have changed the outward appearance of the building but the entire plan is original. It has the typical features of a Syrian madrasa - a courtyard with a basin in the middle and all the units of the building arranged around the courtyard. On the south side is a prayer hall with a mihrāb of two columns. There are two doorways at the east side of the prayer hall which lead into two lateral rooms. There were two other rooms on the west side of the prayer hall at the time of Herzfeld's survey in 1914.<sup>3</sup>

The prayer hall opens into the courtyard through three archways. The north side was occupied by a large īwān, of which only the frontal arch still remains. Its other parts were demolished in 1961 as a result of building a street which passes the north side of the building. Another, smaller, īwān stands in the middle of the west side. This īwān is flanked by two rooms to the left and two rooms to the right; there was a fountain in the middle of its back wall which supplied the basin with water by means of a channel. The west īwān was converted recently into a room. A symmetrical

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 43; "Rep." No. 3310. This inscription is published here as one of the inscriptions of the bīmāristān; see supra, p.

2. Sauvaget, "Notes. I", p. 223.

3. "Damascus. I", fig. 28.

Īwān and four rooms occupy the east side of the courtyard but the back wall of the Īwān opens into the vestibule. The east side, behind the east Īwān complex, is occupied by three further units, with a vestibule in the middle. The turba of Nūr al-Dīn is situated to the south, and to the north is the turba of 'Aqqūsh which was added at the beginning of the Mamlūk period, before 677/1278. The main entrance opens into the vestibule; a doorway on its south side leads into the turba of Nūr al-Dīn. The turba is square in plan. It has four recesses on its four sides with a miḥrāb of two columns in the middle of the south recess. There are two windows<sup>1</sup> in the east recess and two other openings in the west recess. The present door, which is the original one, opens into the vestibule.

#### The Construction:

The building has suffered from successive restorations, the addition of ugly wash and paint, and conversion into a mosque which caused some doors and windows to be closed or widened. In fact this led Sauvaget to consider the entire building as it stood to be more recent.<sup>2</sup> But the restorations have not changed the nature of the entrance and the turba very greatly. The bay of the entrance is surmounted by a curious vault consisting of a pair of cross vaults which appear in the elevation as a pair of windows over the flat pointed arch that bridges the bay (Fig. 13). Sauvaget

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1. The north window was originally set over a well but this well was closed and replaced by a water tap.

2. "MHD", p. 54.



considers this arch to be a suspended keystone arch (clef pendant).<sup>1</sup> According to Herzfeld this construction is a conscious attempt to produce a 'suspended vault'.<sup>2</sup>

An inscription band runs around the four internal sides of the turba. Its content is Koranic.<sup>3</sup> The inscription was originally of moulded stucco in high relief, but it has been damaged in many places and has recently been completed by ugly painting instead of stucco-work.

The four arches of the recesses and their spandrels form the square base, which is terminated at a height of 8.70 m. by a wide cavetto moulding on which the muqarnas dome rests. Twelve windows are set on the springing line of the dome, three windows per side. The dome itself is composed of ten successive zones of muqarnases, and is of the same construction as that of the bīmāristān. The small differences represent the development of this kind of dome during the intervening period.

There are three "reorganizing lines" arranged over the third, the sixth and the tenth zones of muqarnases (Figs. 14-16). These three lines divide the dome into four parts. The first part consists of three zones arranged in such a way as to bridge the corners and to transform them in the fourth zone into a more regular form of 32 muqarnases. The second part consists of three zones of muqarnases so arranged as to reduce the number of muqarnases in every zone and to transform them in the seventh zone into a zone of sixteen muqarnases. The

1. "MHD", p. 54.

2. "Damascus. III", p. 1.

3. Koran, II. 255, among other verses.

third part consists of four zones of sixteen mugarnases each.

Among the mugarnases of the seventh zone are four windows set on the main axes, and there are four other smaller windows among those of the ninth zone set on the diagonal axes. The fourth part consists of a zone of ten mugarnases produced by the intersection of ten arches and forms at the top a circular base crowned by a conch of ten sectors.

The mugarnases in this dome, like those of the bīmāristān, are arranged in such a way that the mugarnases of the two superposed zones are almost interlocked, those of the upper zone growing out between the lower ones.

The difference between this dome and the dome of the bīmāristān is that the latter seems at first sight - though only according to the plan - to have no underlying geometrical framework. This is of course not the case. The mugarnases develop organically and the construction is a result of empiricism, not of scientific study. With the dome of the madrassa it is quite the contrary. In plan, the diameter is divided into six equal parts, the two middle ones covered by the conch and the zone carrying it.<sup>1</sup>

The exterior of this dome resembles that of the bīmāristān. The back of the first six zones are hidden by a square base while the other parts above this base reflect the interior composition of the dome (Figs. 17 and 15).

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 13.

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K.A.C. Creswell, The Muslim Architecture of Egypt, (Oxford,  
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S.D.A. File No. 19.

## Section 3.

## Al-Turba al-‘Imādiya

The turba of al-‘Imādī is situated in the Ṣālihiya of Damascus, 20 m. north of the remains of al-Madrasa al-Jahārkasiya. (*infra*, p.125). Al-‘Imād was one of the subordinates of Nūr al-Dīn. He was not very well-known, even though his death is mentioned by al-Ṣafadī in his biography of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Dāyā who died in 565/1169.

Al-Ṣafadī says of Ibn al-Dāyā "He died in Damascus at the same time as al-‘Imādī. Nūr al-Dīn the martyr grieved for them and said: "my two wings are cut" and he gave Ba‘albak to the sons of al-‘Imādī. Al-‘Imādī has a celebrated turba at the mound of Qāsyūn north of the turba of Jahārkas. It was the first turba ever to be built on the mound and his name is carved over its entrance."<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to verify whether this inscription exists, because the original entrance of the turba is hidden by a dwelling house.

The turba is popularly attributed to al-‘Imād al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, the celebrated historian of the Nūrid period.<sup>2</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī died in 597/1200 and was buried in Maqābir al-Ṣūfiya.<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence that he was buried on the Qāsyūn mountain.

Since it is the oldest turba of the Ṣālihiya, which became the favourite place for erecting turbas during the Ayyūbid period, this dome has a place of particular importance in the architectural history of the Ayyūbid domes of Damascus.

1. Al-Nu‘aimī, II, p. 259; Sauvaire, *op.cit.*, VII (1895), p.246.

2. A.Badrān, "Munadamat al-Aṭlāl wa Musāmarat al-Khayāl" (Damascus, 1379/1959), p. 340.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, pp. 30-31.

It is notable for its interesting plan and for the composition of its transition zone, which was copied and developed for the following three centuries.

#### Plan and Elevation (Fig. 18)

The turba is a perfect square in plan with four recesses on its four sides. The south recess contains a mihrāb in the middle topped with a semi-dome. Opposite the mihrāb in the middle of the north recess there is a window. The west recess has two openings set alongside each other at the north end of the recess. The north one was the original entrance of the turba and the south opening was a window. In the middle of the east recess there used to be a window, but its iron grille has been pulled out and the opening is used nowadays as an entrance. This and the other openings which have been walled up are all of the same width.

#### The Construction:

The turba consists of a single domed chamber and there are no other contemporary units attached to it. The exterior of the building is hidden by dwelling houses; only half of the west and south sides are left exposed. It is built of cut stone set in regular horizontal courses and crowned by a cyma recta cornice terminating the square base from outside. The east window is the only opening that is still unobscured. This window - and most probably the other hidden opening - is topped externally by a flat lintel covered with a segment of an arch constructed of two voussoirs set in such a way as to leave a cavity over the lintel (Fig.19).

The exterior of the building is constructed of roughly shaped stone, but the voussoirs of the arches covering the wide recesses are carefully cut. The upper parts of the building, i.e. the transition and the dome (which is ruined), were constructed of brick and all the transition zone is covered with a coating of plaster. The opening of the windows and the entrance are topped internally by pointed arches with projecting springers. The crown of the mihṛāb is decorated with a design of three lobed leaves which looks like a fleur-de-lis (Fig. 20).

The square base is terminated by a cavetto moulding (Figs. 21-22) which also marks the beginning both of the transition zone and of the use of brick. The transition of this dome is achieved in two stages by means of two superposed zones. The lower zone is octagonal; the four corner arches form squinches and the remainder have double arched windows (Fig. 23). The squinch in this dome, and in most of the following domes, is composed of a semi-cylindrical niche resting on three projections, one of which is over the corner of the square base and is supported by a tiny cill. The two other projections are corbels carrying the two sides of the arch. The niche is topped by a semi-dome with no visible springing line (Fig. 24).

The octagonal zone is regular in shape. Its upper part is framed by a stucco moulding (Figs. 22-23), and it is terminated by a cavetto moulding topped by the second stage of the transition. This is a polygon of sixteen sides containing sixteen niches. The eight which are over the diagonal axes are blind; the other eight, which are over the principal axes

of the octagon, are open. Just as in the lower zone, all the sixteen sides of this zone are surrounded with frames of stucco running along the upper parts and the corners. This zone is crowned by another cavetto cornice on which the dome rested. Presumably the dome was smooth, and not ribbed, because the usual base of a ribbed dome, a dentated circle, is absent.

The exterior of the transition of this dome reflects the interior composition, namely, an octagonal base topped by a sixteen sided one (Fig. 25). The octagonal base features walls consisting of eight arches. Those on the diagonal axes are blind; the others are open, with small double windows. Each of the eight spandrels of this base is surrounded by a frame of stucco.

The second base, which is a sixteen-sided polygon, consists of sixteen niches. The eight which are over the cardinal axes open as windows; the other eight are blind. Each of them is a right angled recess crowned by a shell-shaped semi-dome of seven sectors moulded in stucco over the brickwork (Fig. 26). The two bases are constructed of brick but there are layers of square slabs of stone separating the square base of the dome, the two zones of transition and the curve of the dome from each other. These slabs are laid side by side horizontally like paving stones. There is no other reason for these layers than to regulate the distribution of the weight.

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S.D.A. File No. 137.



## Section 4.

Al-Turba al-‘Alā’iya  
or  
"Sitt al-Shām al-Ṣughra"

The turba of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn is situated at Sūq Sarūja in Damascus, close to al-Madrassa al-Shāmiya or al-Ḥusāmiya. It is called "Sitt al-Shām al-Ṣughra" (Lesser Sitt al-Shām) to distinguish it from "Sitt al-Shām al-Kubra" (Greater Sitt al-Shām) close to the turba and to the east of it.

The turba under discussion is, in fact, quite unrelated to Sitt al-Shām, the founder of al-Madrassa al-Shāmiya. The building has also been called "The turba of Zain al-Dīn",<sup>1</sup> Zain al-Dīn being the father of the Alā’ al-Dīn who is buried in this turba.

The only reference indicating the identity of this turba is the inscription over its entrance. It is carved on a slab measuring 53 x 65 cm. set over the arched entrance on the west façade and it consists of seven lines (Fig. 27).

- بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ<sup>2</sup>  
- كُلِّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَيَبْقَى  
- وَجْهَ رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ  
- هَذَا مَا بَنَتْهُ وَالِدَةُ الْأَمِيرِ الشَّابِ  
- الْغَرِيبِ<sup>3</sup> عَلَاءُ الدِّينِ بْنِ الْأَمِيرِ  
- زَيْنِ الدِّينِ رَحِمَهُمَا اللَّهُ فِي نِي  
- الْحَجَّةِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَسِتِينَ وَخَمْسِمِائِهِ

1. Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 55.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 42; "Rep", No. 3299.

3. In Herzfeld it is الغريب "al-‘azīb" ("the bachelor"). The word should probably read الغريب "al-gharīb" ("the stranger"); this word commonly occurs in inscriptions on tombs and turbas.

"Basmala...Every one on it (the earth) passes away and there endures for ever the person of the Lord, Lord of glory and honour (Koran LV, 26-27). This is what was founded by the mother of the young prince, the stranger, the martyr 'Alā' al-Dīn, the son of the prince Zain al-Dīn, may God have mercy upon them, in Dhu 'l-Hijja 568H". (A.D. July - August 1173).

'Alā' al-Dīn is not otherwise known, but his father Zain al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Biktikin, who was known as Kuchik, and his brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who played a very important role in the history of the Ayyūbid period, are quite well-known. Zain al-Dīn was the governor of Sinjār, Ḥarrān, Qal'at 'Aqar al-Ḥamīdiya, Takrīt and Shahrāzūr. He left Mosul for Irbīl after offering all these territories to the lord of Mosul, Quṭb al-Dīn. He died in 563H and was buried at Irbīl. Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kukubūrī, his brother, received Irbīl in 588H and was its lord until his death in 630/1232.<sup>1</sup>

#### Plan and Elevation (Fig. 28)

The building is surrounded by dwelling houses on all sides except for a small section of its west side which provides the only access. The building is square in plan. It agrees with that of al-'Imādī in having four recesses at the four sides but the recesses are considerably narrower. The west recess is almost twice as wide as the others, probably in order to contain the entrance and the two windows. The two windows have now been walled up. Probably this was a

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1. On Zain al-Dīn and Muẓaffar al-Dīn See Ibn Khallikān, 'Wafayat al-A'yān,' I, pp. 550-554; Ṣibt Ibn al-Jawzī, VIII, p. 191.

result of the addition of the adjacent houses. There is another walled-up archway at the middle of the south recess. Probably it originally contained a mihrāb or was erected to indicate the direction of the qibla. The turba today contains three poor tombs with no inscription or other ornament.

### The Construction

This turba is a very important landmark in the architectural development of the turbas of Damascus, being one of the oldest dated turbas still in existence there. Sauvaget regards it as the oldest dated example of the funeral domes with two zones of eight and sixteen sides,<sup>1</sup> but in fact the dome has only one zone of transition with eight sides. The walls are built, externally, of cut stone. The entrance to the turba is topped by a horse-shoe arch of carefully dressed voussoirs (Fig. 29). The interior walls are of rubble coated with plaster while the arches of the recesses are constructed of brick.

The transition zone of this dome consists of one octagonal drum irregular in shape. It is composed of the usual eight arches (Figs. 28, 30-32). There are no windows in the transition zone. Eight corbels are set over the corners of the octagon to form the circular base from which the smooth dome rises. There are four windows arranged over the springing line on the diagonal axes of the square base

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1. "MHD", p. 55. This statement is quoted by Ş. Munajjid, "Abniyat Dimashq al-Āthāriya al-Musajjala", Al-Mashriq, XLII, Sec. 2, (1948), p. 254.

(Figs. 28-30). The top of the dome is ruined; only about 2.50 m. of the curve is intact (Fig. 31).

#### Bibliography

"Rep." No. 3299.

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 42-43.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 55.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 254.

S.D.A. File No. 73.

## CHAPTER II

The Ayyūbid Turbas of Southern Syria

## Section 1.

## Al-Turba al-Najmiya

or

"The mausoleum of Sulṭān Ḥasan"

Al-Turba al-Najmiya, or the mausoleum of Sulṭān Ḥasan, stands on the same narrow road as al-Turba al-‘Alā’iya, in the ‘Awniya quarter of Damascus.

The turba, which consists of one domed chamber, contains many tombs, the identity of four of which is known. It is known as al-Turba al-Najmiya; the name is derived from the honorific of Ayyūb-Najm al-Dīn - because his family was buried there.<sup>1</sup> It is also called the turba of Sulṭān Ḥasan, one of the four people buried in this building, probably because his is the only name which was carved on its walls.

Abū Shāma states in his biography of Shāhānshāh Ibn Ayyūb, the brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was killed in 561/1165-6, that his tomb is in the turba al-Najmiya near al-Madrasa al-Ḥusāmiya in the cemetery of al-‘Awniya outside Damascus.<sup>2</sup>

In 561/1165-6 Faṭḥ al-Dīn Ibn Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh died and was buried in the Najmiya cemetery. His tomb was beside that of his uncle Shāhānshāh Ibn Ayyūb in a dome chamber which contains four tombs; their two tombs are the two in the

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 43. It is known that Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb died in Cairo in 568/1172-3 and was buried there, and that after two years his body was transferred to al-Madīna; see Abū Shāma, I, p. 209.

2. Abū Shāma, I, p. 141.

middle.<sup>1</sup>

Abū Shāma also writes that Ḥasan, the son of Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, died in 575/1179 and that his tomb is the southern one of the four under the dome of the tomb of Shāhānshāh Ibn Ayyūb in the Najmiya cemetery.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, al-Nuʿaimī says of this turba "It is in the neighbourhood of al-Shāmiya al-Barrāniya. It contains the tombs of Shāhānshāh the father of Farrūkhshāh, Taqī al-Dīn ʿUmar, his son, and the lady ʿAdhrā, the founder of al-Madrasa al-ʿAdhrāwiya."<sup>3</sup> No inscription remains and it is therefore regarded by Sauvaget as an anonymous mausoleum.<sup>4</sup> But Herzfeld has published an inscription which apparently was once located the door of the mausoleum. According to Herzfeld it consisted of a panel measuring 49 x 46 cm. and contained seven lines:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>5</sup> هذا قبر الملك المنصور حسن بن الملك  
الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف بن ايوب توفي مستهل جمادى الاخر سنة  
خمس وسبعين وخمس مائه رحمه الله

"Basmala ... This is the tomb of Malik al-Manṣūr Ḥasan son of Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf the son of Ayyub. He died on the first of Jumāda II 575H (4th October 1179), may God have mercy on him."

Another inscription was originally on a tombstone said to have been found inside the turba.<sup>6</sup> Herzfeld does not

1. Abū Shāma, I, p. 141.

2. Ibid., II, p. 15.

3. Al-Nuʿaimī, II, p. 299.

4. "MHD", p. 56.

5. "Damascus. III", p. 44.

6. Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 257.

mention this. It stated:

هذا قبر زوجة الأمير عماد الدين أبو الفتح

"This is the tomb of the wife of the prince 'Imād al-Dīn Abū 'l-Fath".

Comparing this inscription with the accounts of the historians, we learn that there was a lady named 'Adhrā buried in this turba. Two well-known ladies have this name in the Ayyūbid period. One of them was the sister of the prince 'Imād al-Dīn Abū 'l-Fath who is mentioned in the inscription. The other was his cousin, the daughter of Shāhanshāh Ibn Ayyūb, who died in 593<sup>1</sup>/1196-7. She was most probably 'Imad al-Dīn's wife. It is also possible that another unknown lady was buried in this turba.

Taking into consideration both the accounts of the historians and the inscriptions, one may conclude that the turba was built after 561/1165-6 and before 575/1179-80.

#### The Plan and Construction

This turba follows the typical Ayyūbid turba plan; it is a perfect square, with a recessed opening on each axis. The east opening is the entrance while the others are windows (Fig. 33).

The masonry consists externally of cut stone set in

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1. The historians confused these two ladies. Ibn Kathīr attributes the founding of al-Madrassa al-'Adhrāwiya to the second 'Adhrā and says that she died in 593/1196 and was buried in her madrassa (op.cit., XIII, p. 16). Ibn Shaddād attributes the madrassa to the second 'Adhrā, the daughter of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and says that the madrassa was founded in 530/1135 ("Damascus" p. 260). But this is clearly impossible for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was not yet born at that time.



courses up to a height of 4 m. from the present floor level. At this point a projecting cornice crowns the square base. Brick is used from the transition zone upwards (Fig. 34). Internally, the building is of roughly shaped courses of limestone set in gypsum mortar. The arches over the windows and the doorway are of brick. The interior is coated with plaster with a frieze of stucco 80 cm. wide encircling the top of the square base (Fig. 35). Each of the four sides of the square base is divided into three vertical panels by means of stucco frames. The middle one, which is wider than the others, contains an arched recess while the two side panels are plain. These panels are terminated with a frieze which is topped by the zone of transition (Fig. 35).

The zone of transition of the dome follows that of al-Turba al-‘Imādiya (supra, p. 33). Thus it is one of the group of domes with two superposed zones (Figs. 36-39). The triangular corbels of the squinches are left unsupported by tiny cells (Fig. 36). The second zone is terminated by a dentated circle forming the springing line of the dome. The base of the dome is formed of sixteen connected segments; they produce sixteen corbels from which the ribs rise. Each of these corbels is triangular in shape and is set over the middle of one of the sides of the second zone (Figs. 40-41).

The dome is constructed of sixteen ribs, each with a concave fill, which spring from these triangular corbels (Figs. 39-40).

The apex of this dome has collapsed and has not been restored. Otherwise the dome is in good condition. The wood

stored in it should be removed.<sup>1</sup>

The external appearance corresponds to the internal construction of the dome: a square base is crowned by two superposed zones, an octagon and a hexadecagon. The octagonal zone contains eight arches: the four which correspond to the squinches are blind, while those on the cardinal axes contain small double windows (Figs. 34 and 41).

The sixteen-sided zone contains sixteen arched panels. Eight contain windows and the other eight are blind, being semi-cylindrical recesses with two different types of crowns. Four of them are topped by semi-domes. Each of the other four consists of a small double recess topped with two arches sharing one abutment, resembling that of the suspended keystone.

The ribbed melon dome which rests on the hexadecagon has sixteen ribs which diminish to nothing at the apex.

#### Internal ornamentation:

The few remaining examples of the decorative panels and bands indicate that the interior was once richly adorned. This decoration is carried out in an unusual mixture of shredded flax and plaster. The whole is covered with a very thin coat of gypsum. As already mentioned, the lower walls contain three framed vertical panels. Each is crowned with a decorative stucco frieze. This consists of an arcade of

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1. This turba and many of the other turbas and monuments are under the administration of the Syrian Ministry of Awqāf. It has been rented to a carpenter who uses it as a wood store.

small pointed arches; the same motif is repeated at the top of the square base (Figs. 35 and 39).

All the arches of the two zones of transition are surrounded on three sides with frames of stucco. The interior of each of the four squinches is ornamented with a roundel medallion of interlaced geometrical design executed in dark paint (Fig. 42).

There are enough remains to indicate that the sixteen windows in the two zones of the transition had stucco grilles on both sides.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 43-44.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 56.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 257.

Sauvaire, op. cit., VII (1895), p. 268.

S.D.A. File No. 76.

## Section 2.

## Al-Turba al-Khātūniya

Al-Turba al-Khātūniya which is known also as "al-Jāmi' al-Jadīd" (the new mosque), is situated in the Ṣāliḥiyya of Damascus on the River Yazīd, to the south of al-Madrasa al-Jahārkasiya. The "Répertoire" refers to this building as al-Madrasa al-Khātūniya<sup>1</sup> but it is, in fact, a turba. There was another building within the walls of the city also called al-Madrasa al-Khātūniya but this was founded by another Khātūn.<sup>2</sup> This madrasa does not exist now.

Al-Turba al-Khātūniya was built by 'Iṣmat al-Dīn Khātūn, the daughter of Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur, and the wife of Nūr al-Dīn and then of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. She died in 581/1185 and was buried in this turba.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this turba she founded a madrasa for the Ḥanafites in the quarter of Ḥajar al-dhahab<sup>4</sup> (the gold stone) and a khānqāh outside Bāb al-Naṣr to the south of the walled city.<sup>5</sup>

The inscription<sup>6</sup> on the lintel of the south window gives the date of the building and identifies it. It is carved in six lines in Ayyūbid naskh:

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1. "Rep" No. 3367.

2. Al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 507.

3. Abū Shāma, II, p. 7; al-Nu'aimī, I, pp. 507 and 510, and II, pp. 244-5; Ibn Kathīr, XII, pp. 317-318.

4. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 205.

5. Al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 508.

6. Published in "Rep", No. 3367.

امرت بإنشاء هذه التربة المباركة الفقيرة الى رحمة الله الراجية  
 لرضوانه الخاتون الاجله السيده الكبيره المالكه العادله عصمة  
 الدنيا والدين شرف الخواتين تاج نساء العالمين ابنة الشهيد  
 السعيد الغازي المجاهد معين الدين سيف الاسلام قدس الله روحه  
 في شهر سنة سبع وسبعين وخمسائة .

"The building of this blessed turba was commanded by the one in need of the mercy of God, the hoper in His satisfaction, the most noble Khātūn, the great lady the just queen, 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn, the honour of the Khātūns, the crown of all women in the word, the daughter of the blessed martyr, the warrior, the fighter of the Holy War, Mu'īn al-Dīn, the sword of Islam, may God sanctify his spirit. That was during the months of 577H"(1181 A.D.).

This turba was then enlarged and was converted into a mosque called "al-Jāmi' al-Jadīd" in 709/1309-10.<sup>1</sup> Then al-Khwāja Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Ainī constructed a turba to the north of al-Khātūniya.<sup>2</sup> The mosque was enlarged again in 975<sup>3</sup>/1567-8. The Syrian Directorate of Antiquities restored the turba in 1944-1946 because it had collapsed and although the existing curve of the dome is not original, it was rebuilt during the restoration according to the Ayyūbid style.<sup>4</sup> However, the turba has at least preserved its coating of richly carved plaster<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 48).

1. Al-Nu'aimī, II, pp. 244-5.

2. Sauvaire, op.cit., VII (1895), p. 237.

3. Badrān, op.cit., p. 333.

4. Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 258.

5. Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 95.

### The Plan and Construction:

The turba with its perfect square plan, the recessed sides, the four symmetrical openings, the transition of the two superposed zones, the windows and the ribbed dome follows closely the model of al-Najmiya (See above pp. 41-6 and Figs. 43-47).

The same combination of materials as in the majority of the Ayyūbid turbas is used in this turba: stone in the square base and brick in the transition zone and the dome (Fig. 45). Each of the four openings is crowned, externally, by a flat lintel topped, in turn, by a segmental arch so arranged as to leave a cavity above the lintel, and the exterior of the square base is crowned by a corbelled cornice made of brick instead of stone (Fig. 45).

The exterior of the octagonal zone is irregular in shape. This irregularity is due to the thickness of the walls behind the squinches. These walls had to be thicker than the walls on the main axes because otherwise the curve of the squinches would have been ruined. This happens with many other domes, especially if there are niches behind the squinches.<sup>1</sup> The other parts of the dome, which are above the octagonal base, have all been reconstructed by the Syrian Directorate of Antiquities according to the Ayyūbid style<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 47, A, B). The restoration makes the dome ribbed; its section is a pointed arch with two centres 38 cm. above the springing line with a distance of 1.16 m. between them (Fig. 47 A).

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1. Such as the turba of Ibn Salāma (*infra*, p. 65 ); The turbas in al-Madrasa al-Jahārkasiya, and Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya.

2. Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 258.

### The Decoration:

Besides the shell-shaped semi-domes which adorn the exterior of the transition zone, the turba still preserves its stucco decoration.

The corners of the four sides of the square base are occupied by vine scrolls moulded in stucco. There are two roundels of geometrical design on the spandrels of each recess and another roundel at the top of the back wall of the recess (Fig. 48). Connected decorative arches carved in plaster frame the back wall of the recess along the curve of the arch, the springing line and the arch of the window. The design recurs in al-Madrassa al-Shāmiya al-Ḥusāmiya<sup>1</sup> which was founded in the Nūrīd period.

The tympanum of the window is decorated with a large palmette moulded in stucco. In addition to these, the square base is crowned internally by a dentated frame carried out with a course of brick arranged diagonally, exactly like the frame crowning the exterior of the square base at al-Turba al-Nūriya (Figs. 48 and 17).

### Bibliography

"Rep" No. 3367.

Sauvaire, op.cit., VII, (1895), pp. 236-239.

Sauvaire, "MHD", pp. 94-95.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, pp. 116-118.

S.D.A. File No. 59.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 259.

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1. File No. 21 and Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 38-41.



## Section 3.

## Al-Turba al-Ṣalāḥiya

Al-Turba al-Ṣalāḥiya stands to the north of the Umayyad mosque adjacent to its north wall.

The historians<sup>1</sup> of the Ayyūbid period state that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn died on 27th Ṣafar, 589/5th March, 1193, and was buried in the castle of Damascus. At the same time his son al-Afḍal had built for him a turba and a Shāfi'ite madrassa near the mosque of al-Qadam, outside the walls of the city. But the turba and madrassa were demolished, before they were even completed, by his other son al-'Azīz, the governor of Egypt, during his siege of Damascus in 590/1124. This event led al-Afḍal to buy a house to the north of al-Kallāsa<sup>2</sup> near the Umayyad mosque and to found it as a turba to which the body of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was transferred on 10th Muḥarram 592/15th Dec. 1195.

In Rajab of the same year, (A.D. March-April 1196), Damascus was captured by al-'Azīz, the governor of Egypt. He visited the tomb of his father, bought a house nearby and had a Ḥanafite madrassa founded in it. The remains of this madrassa are still to be observed around the turba. It seems that Ibn Shaddād regarded the turba and the madrassa as one building, for he says that it was founded by al-Afḍal and was

1. Abū Shāma, II, pp. 213-4; Ibn Khallikān, II, pp. 402  
Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 3; Ibn Wāṣil, II, p. 422; al-Nu'aimī, I, pp. 382-3.
2. Al-Kallāsa is the area which is along the north side of the Umayyad Mosque. It was so called because it used to be the place where plaster was made; see al-Nu'aimī, I, pp. 447 and Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 76.



finished by al-‘Azīz.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he attributes the building of the turba and the transferring of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's body to al-Azīz ‘Uthmān. He states that when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn died, his son al-Malik al-‘Azīz ‘Uthmān erected a madrasa beside al-Kallāsa and transferred his fāther's body to a qubba (a turba) near it.<sup>2</sup> Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, who was alive at that time, agrees with the other historians that the building of the turba and the transferring of the body of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were carried out by al-Afḍal.<sup>3</sup>

Although the madrasa has collapsed but for some of the foundation of the north half, the prayer hall and the frontal arch of its north īwān still exist while the turba stands intact.

The turba itself has no inscription, but the wooden cenotaph contains a band of Kufic inscription along its upper edge; this gives verses from the Koran (II, 255). It seems that this cenotaph is not the original one. Ibn Khallikān, who died in 681/1282, visited the turba of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and read an inscription on his tomb saying:

اللهم فارض عن تلك الروح وفتح له ابواب الجنة فهي اخر ما كان  
يرجوه من الغتوح<sup>4</sup>.

"O God, be satisfied with this soul and open to him the gates of paradise. That is the last conquest for which he hoped."

1. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 239.

2. Ibid., p. 77.

3. Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, "Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn" (Cairo, 1317/1899), p. 309.

4. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 47.

There is no such inscription on the cenotaph now. The four sides of the cenotaph are carved in interlaced bands forming small geometrical panels. These are filled with fine interlaced floral scrolls. The borders are decorated with vine branches growing out of cornucopias<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 49).

#### The Plan (Fig. 50)

The remains of the building show that the madrassa contained a prayer hall along the south side opening into the courtyard by means of several bays. Only two columns of its arcade remain. The north side is occupied by a large īwān flanked by rooms on either side. The madrassa has fallen into ruins, leaving some foundation to a maximum height of one metre, and the frontal arch of the īwān is completely intact (Fig. 51).

The west side of the courtyard is occupied by the turba. The plan follows the usual plan of the Ayyūbid turbas of Damascus, being square with four wide recesses (Fig. 52). It contains two cenotaphs; the one in the centre was presented to the city of Damascus by the German Emperor Wilhelm II,<sup>2</sup> while the wooden one, which probably belongs to the VIIth or VIIIth century, stands beside it.

#### The Construction and Decoration

The materials used in this turba are those of al-Turba al-Najmiya. The square base and the transition zones up to

1. A good study of the decoration of this cenotaph is that by Sauvaget, "Le cénotaphe de Saladin" Revue des Arts Asiatiques VI (1929-1930), pp. 168-175.
2. Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 261.

the top of the sixteen-sided zone follow in most respects al-Turba al-Najmiya but with different decoration (Figs. 52, 53 and 55).

The back walls of the recesses were covered in 1037/1627 by a coating of glazed tiles of three colours<sup>1</sup> arranged in courses of black, white and pink (Fig. 52). The other parts of the square base are built of cut stone without any coating of plaster.

The sixteen sided zone differs in its decoration from those of the other Ayyūbid turbas. It features shell-shaped semi-domes of nine thin sectors crowning the niches which alternate with the windows. Some of these sectors grow out from the middle of the springing line of the semi-dome and spread upwards. Others grow out from the crowns of the arches and spread downwards (Figs. 52 and 54). The lower parts of these niches were originally decorated with stucco in the form of a large motif of different curves like that which is seen in al-Turba al-Khātūniya (Fig. 48), but these motifs have been covered with a coating of plaster and they can hardly be recognized.

The sixteen-sided zone is terminated by the base of the dome, with a dentated circle which differs somewhat from that usually found at the bases of Ayyūbid ribbed domes. Normally these consist of sixteen segments of a circle arranged beside one another around a regular circle. In this dome, too, the base is made up of sixteen segments of a circle arranged around a regular circle, but these segments are separated from

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1. A.Q. Rīḥāwī, "Dimashq," (Damascus 1969), p. 196; Al-'Ush, op.cit., p. 50.

one another by a furrow (Figs. 53-55). From this base rises the curve of the dome, consisting of sixteen ribs, each springing individually from its own base, narrowing and then diminishing to nothing at the apex. Between the ribs are longitudinal furrows also diminishing to nothing at the apex (Figs. 52 and 54).

According to the photographs taken before the last restoration,<sup>1</sup> the exterior of the dome was ribbed just like the other Ayyūbid ribbed domes. The restoration which was in 1960 made it like a domical vault formed by sixteen surfaces meeting each other in sixteen edges (Fig. 51). The outside of the square base was raised during this restoration to the top of the octagonal base (Fig. 51); in the present external elevation, therefore, the octagonal base has been amalgamated into the square base.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 47-48.

Sauvaget, "Le cénotaphe de Saladin", Revue des Arts Asiatiques VI (1929-1930), pp. 168-175.

Idem, "MHD" p. 57.

Munajjid, "Abniyat" p. 261.

A.Q. Rīḥāwī, "Dimashq" (Damascus, 1969), p. 196.

Al-ʿUsh, op.cit., p. 50.

Sauvaire, op.cit., II (1894), pp. 427-428.

S.D.A. File No. 22.

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1. These photographs are kept in S.D.A. File No. 22.

## Section 4.

## Qubbat al-Amjād

Qubbat al-Amjad, or the dome of al-Amjād, is a single domed chamber standing on the Shaikh 'Abd-Allāh mountain which commands the city of Ba'albak. According to the inscription on the lintel of its entrance, which is the only evidence to show its identity, it was built by Ṣārim al-Dīn Abu Sa'īd Khuṭlukh Ibn 'Abd-Allah al-Mu'izzī al-Amjadī in 596/1199-1200. The inscription is carved on a rectangular panel measuring 100 by 45 cm. and consists of four lines:<sup>1</sup>

- اما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الآخر  
- أمر بعمارة هذا المسجد المبارك الأمير الاسفهلار الكبير  
- صارم الدين ابو سعيد ختلخ بن عبد الله المعزي الملكي الامجدى  
- ضاعف الله له الثواب وغفر له يوم الحساب في سنة  
ست وتسعين وخمسمائه .

"Only he can maintain the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day (Koran IX, 18). The prince, the great Isfahsalār Ṣārim al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Khuṭlukh Ibn 'Abd-Allāh the subordinate of Mu'izz al-Dīn<sup>2</sup> and of al-Malik al-Amjad,<sup>3</sup> has ordered that this blessed mosque should be founded, may God double his reward and forgive him. In the year 596H" (A.D. 1199-1200).

Over the crown of the mihrāb there is another inscription, which is very damaged. It most probably contained verses from the Koran as is suggested by some clear words in the text.

1. "Rep." No. 3528.

2. Mu'izz al-Dīn Farrūkhshāh (see infra, Ch. III, p. 118 ).

3. Al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh (see infra, Ch. III, p. 120 ).

Although the plan of the building, its situation and its appearance resemble those of a turba, no traces of a tomb can be seen. Moreover, the inscription does not allude to a turba but indicates that the building is a mosque. Even the verse of the Koran in the inscription over the entrance is the same as that which is often written over the entrances and mihrābs of mosques.

In any case the plan does not correspond to the normal plan for a mosque; probably it was a private mosque or a kind of a hermitage far from the city for private worship.

#### The Plan and Construction:

The building is of square plan with a concave mihrāb in the middle of the south side. Three openings occupy the north side, the middle one being the entrance flanked by two windows (Fig. 56). The building is constructed entirely of cut stone without mortar (Figs. 57-58). Some of the stones were taken from the ancient city of Ba'albak; a few of them have Hellenistic ornament.

The west façade is decorated by three engaged columns. There still exists the remains of the two lateral columns while the middle one is completely preserved (Fig. 59). The columns have fluted shafts. The middle one is crowned by a capital of acanthus leaves, and its base is formed by two tori flanking a scotia in between. The columns do not harmonize with the nature of the building and their design, which was very common in the ancient city of Ba'albak, indicates that they were taken from a classical building and re-erected as part of the Qubbat al-Amjād.



The dome has two superposed zones of transition. The octagonal one follows that of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Figs. 60-64), but each of the axial arches contains a single window instead of double windows and the south one is of circular form (Figs. 60-61).

The sixteen sided zone, which is considerably lower (Figs. 60-63), is constructed of 32 small mugarnases; each two form a side of a base. This zone is, in fact, a series of courses of corbelled stone with its outer faces carved in the form of shallow cells.

Nothing remains of the curve of the dome, but the shape of its stones, which are scattered inside and around the building, indicates that it was of successive courses of stones. These stones are smoothly cut; they are concave on one side and convex on the other.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus.III", p. 46.

"Rep." No. 3528.

J. 'Awād, "Ba'albek in History" (Ba'albak, 1967), p. 82.

M. 'Allūf, "History of Baalbek" (Beirut, 1914), pp. 6-7.

M.S. Briggs, "The Architecture of Saladin and the Influence of the Crusaders" Burlington Magazine, LXXXVIII (1921), p. 20.

## Section 5.

Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam

or

"Qabr Sayyidnā Ṭalḥa"

Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam is a single domed building situated at the cemetery of al-Daḥdāḥ, to the north of the ancient Damascus, outside Bāb al-Farādīs. The building is commonly known as Qabr Sayyidnā Ṭalḥa (the tomb of our lord Ṭalḥa).

Banū al-Muqaddam, or the family of al-Muqaddam, had many outstanding princes who played an important part in the Nūrid and Ayyūbid periods. Al-Muqaddam, 'Abd al-Malik, the head of the family, who was the governor (Dazdār) of Sinjār, supported Nūr al-Dīn in his struggle for power against the governors of Mosul.<sup>1</sup> His son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad became the governor of Damascus, first under the rule of Nūr al-Dīn and later under that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.<sup>2</sup>

In 583/1187 he was sent by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to Mecca as a prince of the Syrian pilgrims, and he was killed there during clashes between the Syrian and the 'Irāqī pilgrims. He was also buried there.<sup>3</sup>

Shams al-Dīn had many sons. 'Izz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who succeeded his father as governor of Manbij, Qal'at Najm, Kafar Ṭāb and Afāmya, died at Afāmya in 597/1200-1201. His fiefs were then received by his brother Shams al-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, XI, p. 92.

2. Al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 123.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XII, p. 329; Abū Shāma, II, p. 123.

4. Ibn Wāṣil, III, p. 120; Abū Shāma, II, p. 244.

Al-Asadī writes of Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Muqaddam "He was the governor of Bārim and other castles, though al-Zāhir Ghāzī the governor of Aleppo took from him everything except Bārim. He died at Damascus and was buried in the madrasa of his family outside Bāb al-Farādīs."<sup>1</sup>

This family founded many celebrated buildings bearing the name of al-Muqaddam at Damascus and Aleppo, such as al-Madrasa al-Muqaddamiya at Aleppo,<sup>2</sup> al-Madrasa al-Muqaddamiya al-Jawāniya<sup>3</sup> (intra muros) at Damascus, which was founded by Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Muqaddam during the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and al-Madrasa al-Muqaddamiya al-Barrāniya<sup>4</sup> (extra muros) which according to Ibn Shaddād<sup>5</sup> is known as Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam. This was founded by the prince Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Muqaddam who died in 597/1200-1201 and was buried in his turba in this madrasa.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to these buildings, al-Nuʿaimī mentions that Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Muqaddam founded a turba, a mosque and a khān at Bāb al-Farādīs in Damascus.<sup>7</sup> This khān, which was adjacent to the wall of the city, is mentioned in the accounts of the siege of Damascus undertaken by al-ʿAzīz, the governor of Egypt,<sup>8</sup> in 592/1195-6. Khālīd Moaz classifies

1. Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), p. 325, n. 205.

2. It was founded by ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muqaddam in 545/1150 (see Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 116).

3. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 211; al-Nuʿaimī, I, p. 594.

4. Ibid., I, p. 599.

5. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 226.

6. Al-Nuʿaimī, I, p. 599.

7. Ibid., I, p. 595.

8. Ibn Wāṣil, III, p. 125.

this turba as Ayyūbid on the basis of its architectural and decorative features.<sup>1</sup> He designates the building as the turba of Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Muqaddam<sup>2</sup> who died in 597H.<sup>3</sup>

He does this on the basis of a comparison between the situation of the building and the descriptions of the Arab historians. Al-Nuʿaimī says: "al-Madrassa al-Muqaddamiya al-Barrāniya in the cemetery of al-Daḥdāḥ, known as Turbat al-Muqaddam, was founded by the prince Fakhr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm who died in 597 and was buried in this turba."<sup>4</sup>

#### The Plan and Construction (Fig. 65)

The turba is square in plan with an archway in the middle of each side. These archways were originally closed by wood-work,<sup>5</sup> traces of which are still visible.

The typical Ayyūbid combination of materials, cut stone and brick, is used in the construction of this turba. Both the L-shaped piers and the arches which are pointed (the distance between the two centres is more or less one third of the radius<sup>6</sup>), are of smooth and carefully cut stone arranged in courses.

The turba with its transition zone, its muqarnases and

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1. K. Moaz, "Le mausolée d' Ibn al-Muqaddam", Mélanges de l'Institut Français de Damas I (1929), p. 73.

2. Op. cit., p. 74.

3. Herzfeld mistakes the year 597 for 587, "Damascus. I", p. 16.

4. Al-Nuʿaimī, I, p. 599. This date is confirmed by Abū Shāma, II, p. 244 and Ibn Wāṣil, III, p. 120.

5. Moaz, op.cit., p. 73.

6. Ibid., p. 69.

its ribbed dome, does not belong to the usual style of Damascus.<sup>1</sup> The base of the mugarnas dome, which is a perfect dodecagon, is produced by four pendentives at the corners of the square base, which according to Herzfeld represent a cross between the spherical and the pyramidal.<sup>2</sup>

A transition zone of two parts rests on the dodecagonal base. Each part consists of twelve mugarnas cells in the shape of arched panels (Figs. 65-66). All of these panels were originally decorated with three designs (Figs. 66-68). The four axial mugarnases in the second zone were originally open, forming windows, but they have been closed from inside since the restoration of the S.D.A. in 1945-1948.<sup>3</sup>

The second zone is terminated by the base of the ribbed dome, or the conch as Herzfeld calls it.<sup>4</sup> This base shows the same features as that of al-Turba al-Najmiya except that it is of twelve projections, while it is of sixteen projections in al-Turba al-Najmiya (Figs. 65 and 69).

The curve of the dome is ribbed, and is formed by the same method as that of al-Turba al-Najmiya.

As is mentioned above, the mugarnases and the ribbed dome are built of brick and coated with stucco on which the decoration of the mugarnases is carried out, while the other parts of the building, namely the four arches and the pendentives, are of smooth dressed stone, left bare with no coating in either the exterior or the interior. The exterior of the two mugarnas

1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 16.

2. Ibid., loc.cit.

3. Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 261.

4. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 10.

zones comprises two superposed twelve-sided bases (Figs. 70-71) each corresponding to a zone of the interior complex.

The profile of the ribbed dome was not very clear before the restoration since it had been covered with successive coatings of plaster.<sup>1</sup>

### The Decoration

The decoration of this dome is moulded in stucco and is limited to the two zones of mugarnases. Three different designs occur in the stucco decoration. The stucco work of five of the panels in the lower zone has been lost completely. The other work is reasonably well preserved. There is no symmetry or clear-cut system in the distribution of the three decorative designs. One of the mugarnases in the lower zone is decorated with several courses of small arched panels (Figs. 67 and 69). Another mugarnas beside it is decorated with floral designs consisting of interlaced scrolls arranged symmetrically on a vertical axis (Figs. 67 and 69).

The third design, which is used in filling the rest of the mugarnases of the lower zone and all the mugarnases of the upper zone (except the four which were originally windows) is a palmette with finials of various shapes (Figs. 66 and 68).

A discussion of the different opinions about the architectural and the decorative origins of this building will be presented later in this work, but it is worth pointing out now that some scholars attribute the building with its plan, transition zones and the mugarnases to the school of Aleppo.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Moaz, op.cit., p. 70.

2. Ibid., p. 69; Sauvaget, "MHD", pp. 59-60.  
Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 121.

There is, however, nothing to support the affinity of this building with the contemporary monuments of Aleppo. The dome on four arches recalls pre-Islamic examples in Northern Syria,<sup>1</sup> and it is found also in other turbas of Damascus.<sup>2</sup> The two superposed zones have a strong resemblance in both structure and decoration to those of Imām Dūr which represent the earliest existing specimens of this type. The particular type of the ribbed dome was not used at Aleppo at all during the Ayyūbid period nor at any time previously.

#### Bibliography.

Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), p. 325.

Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", pp. 14-18.

K. Moaz, "Le mausolée d'ibn al-Muqaddam", Mélanges de l'Institut Français de Damas I (1929), pp. 67-74.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 261.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 59.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, p. 4.

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1. See infra, p. 293 .

2. Such as al-Turba al-Qawāmiya of the beginning of the Mamlūk period, and al-Turba al-Shibliya of 616/1219, which was demolished in 1968.



## Section 6

## Al-Turba al-Salāmiya

Al-Turba al-Salāmiya or Turbat<sup>1</sup> al-Ḥasan Ibn Salāma al-Raqqī stands on the main street in the Sālīhiya of Damascus surrounded by shops and houses, at the west end of Sūq Abū Jarash. The whole of the building is in very good condition and preserves most of its original elements. The turba is also called Turbat Abū Jarash,<sup>2</sup> Abū Jarash being the name of the man who is popularly supposed to have been buried in the turba.

The turba has been ignored by most of the Arab historians and it is not mentioned among their lists of turbas, but the lapidary inscription on one of its northern windows is enough to identify the building. It is engraved in four lines within an oblong panel plus a line on its lower border.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>3</sup> كل من عليها فان ويبقى وجهه  
 - ربك ذو الجلال والاکرام . هذه تربة العبد الفقير الغريب الراجي  
 - رحمة ربه ابي عبد الله الحسن بن سلامه الرقي توفي شهر المحرم<sup>4</sup>  
 - سنة عشر وستمائة رحمه الله تعالى وبعده ولديه عليهما<sup>5</sup> رحمة  
 الله .

1. It is pronounced 'turbat' in the possessive case, so also madrasa, madrasat and qubba, qubbat.

2. According to Herzfeld it means 'the man with the bell', or 'he who keeps vigil' ("Damascus. III", p. 52).

3. The inscription is published in "Rep." No. 3726 and Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 52.

4. "Rep." has الآخر (died in Rabī' II) while Herzfeld has توفي شهر المحرم (died in the month of Muḥarram).

5. In Herzfeld, ولديه عليهما (and after him his two sons, may the mercy of God be upon them), while "Rep." has وبعده (and after him his son 'Isa).  
 ولده عيسى (and after him his son 'Isa).

The lintel, however, is broken at this point and it is hard to be sure of the reading.

The inscription in the border reads<sup>1</sup>:-

جَدَدُهُ الْعَبْدُ الْغَرِيبُ الرَّاجِي الرَّحْمَةَ مِنَ الْمَوْلَى الْمَوْدُودِ  
الْحَاجِّ أَحْمَدَ مَسْعُودٍ

"Basmala...Koran LV, 26-27. This is the turba of the humble slave, the stranger,<sup>2</sup> the one who longs for the mercy of his Lord, Abu 'Abdullāh al-Ḥasan Ibn Salāma al-Raqqī. He died in Muḥarram 610H,<sup>3</sup> may God be merciful to him; and after him died his two sons, God's mercy upon them both. The humble slave, he who desires mercy from the beloved Lord, Aḥmad Mas'ūd the pilgrim, has restored it."

Herzfeld suggests that al-Ḥasan Ibn Salāma was a Sūfī, basing his interpretation on the term 'al-Mawdūd' (the beloved) which was chosen not only to rhyme with Mas'ūd but also to indicate the Sūfism of the writer who was responsible for the restoration.<sup>4</sup>

As al-Ḥasan was not a prince or any outstanding leader he might have been a pious man or a Sūfī. The term 'al-gharīb' (the stranger) which Herzfeld<sup>5</sup> took as a proof to indicate that the occupant of the tomb or the turba is a Sūfī is used to show that the man buried there really is a stranger and that he has no relatives to read al-Fātiḥa (blessing) for his soul.<sup>6</sup> As regards the restoration which

1. "Rep." omits the border.

2. It is translated by Herzfeld as "the exiled" ('Damascus. III" p. 52).

3. A.D. May-June, 1213.

4. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 52.

5. Ibid., loc. cit.

6. See Appendix 1.

is mentioned in the inscription, it is impossible to be certain which part was restored because most of the features of the building are common to other Ayyūbid turbas of Damascus.<sup>1</sup> The line which is on the border outside the panel is clearly a later addition to the original text, both in its technique and in its position. However, the turba was founded according to Herzfeld<sup>2</sup> just after 610H (A.D. 1213), it is regarded by Sauvaget<sup>3</sup> as a typical turba of the 12th century and the first quarter of the 13th century, and it is dated wrongly by Watzinger and Wulzinger to 620/1223.<sup>4</sup>

### The Plan and Construction

There is nothing to show that there was any contemporary building adjacent to the turba, but nowadays it is surrounded by shops and houses on both the south and west sides. It is built on a perfect square plan with the usual recesses on the four sides (Fig. 72). Each of the east, west and north recesses contain two openings. One of the openings at the west side serves as the entrance, while the others are windows. The south recess contains a small rectangular niche 85 cm. wide and about 50 cm. deep. This niche is set up in the place usually occupied by the miḥrāb but it is not a miḥrāb because its sill rises about 1.50 m. from the present ground level of

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1. Even the decoration of the exterior of the sixteen-sided zone appears in other Damascus domes, as in al-Turba al-Najmiya and Jāmi' al-Tawba.
  2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 53.
  3. Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 97.
  4. Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, p. 134.

the turba. It is probably intended to indicate the direction of the gibla. The sills of the four wide recesses rise about 85 cm. from ground level. Like all the Ayyūbid turbas of Damascus, this turba is constructed of two principal materials, stone and brick. The exterior of the square base is of cut stone arranged in courses varying between 50 cm. and 30 cm. in height. Some of the stones are cut rather roughly in the middle and surrounded with smooth edges<sup>1</sup> 7 cm. wide (Figs. 73-74) - a type of rusticated masonry. Each of the openings of the square base is topped by a lintel topped, in turn, by a flat arch - instead of the usual segmental arch - arranged in such a way as to leave a cavity of 3 cm. above the lower lintel (Fig. 74).

The interior of the square base is constructed of roughly cut stone laid in courses and covered with plaster. This coating has fallen away in many places showing the stonework. The openings are topped from the inside by pointed arches. The square base is terminated with a cavetto moulding which marks the end of the stone base and the beginning of the zones of transition which, like the dome, are made of brick.

The transition and the dome in this turba are akin to those of al-Turba al-Najmiya in having two superposed zones, octagonal and sixteen-sided ones surmounted with a ribbed dome. But the sixteen-sided zone differs from that of al-Najmiya and from all the domes of this group in the distribution of the windows and the niches. It has only four windows set up on

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1. This kind of cut stone is called by the architects of Mosul "qubbadār".

the normal axes instead of eight, and they are so arranged that three arched panels alternate with each window (Figs. 75-77). Each of the arched panels is topped by a semi-dome with springers projecting 2 cm. towards the centre. This zone is terminated with a cavetto moulding on which the dentated base of the dome rests. This base is composed of sixteen segments of a circle joined to each other and forming the bases of the ribs of the dome which rise from there. The curve of the dome consists of sixteen ribs which enclose between them shallow almond-shaped concave panels. About two-thirds of the way up the dome there are sixteen holes, all pierced on the same level; they were probably closed by polychrome glass.<sup>1</sup>

The exterior of the transition has the usual arrangement: a sixteen-sided figure placed over the octagon (Figs. 77-78). The lower base contains eight arches. The four on the oblique sides, corresponding to the squinches, are blind. The other four which are on the cardinal axes are pierced with small double windows (Fig. 78). The sixteen-sided base contains four windows. In the space between each window are three panels, each of a different profile. The first is a semi-cylindrical recess topped by a semi-dome of the same construction as in the interior panels (Fig. 79A). The second

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1. Polychrome glass was employed in Damascus in filling the voids in the stucco grilles of the windows in some Ayyūbid buildings such as al-Madrassa al-Marīdāniya (see *infra*, p.136) and al-Turba al-Khātūniya (see *supra*, p.47 ). This characteristic occurred in Egypt at the end of the Ayyūbid period and in the Mamlūk period (see Creswell, *MAE* II (Cairo, 1959), pp. 91-92).

pattern is a right-angled recess 30 cm. deep topped by a shell-shaped semi-dome moulded in plaster over the brickwork (Fig. 78B). The third pattern is a small concave recess topped with a semi-dome. The whole recess is placed within another recess surmounted by twin arches sharing a "suspended abutment" (Figs. 78C and 77). The sixteen sided base is surmounted by the curve of the dome which is composed of sixteen convex ribs with bases measuring about 1.00 m. wide, diminishing to nothing at the apex (Fig. 77).

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 52-53.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 97.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., p. 134.

"Rep." No. 3726.

S.D.A. File No. 97.

## Section 7

## Al-Turba al-Qarājiya

or

## Jāmi' Abū 'l-Nūr

Al-Turba al-Qarājiya or, as it is commonly known, Jāmi' Abū 'l-Nūr is situated at the Ṣālihiya of Damascus on the main road about 30 m. to the west of Turbat Ibn Timirak (see *infra*, p. 111 ).

The building has been terribly damaged and thus its importance lies in its situation rather than in its architectural features. It still keeps the inscription which dates and identifies it and this helps to determine the identity of the neighbouring buildings, such as Turbat Ibn Timirak. The inscription also gives a brief biography of the man buried in the turba, Prince Qarāja al-Nāṣirī. It is engraved on the two lintels over the two windows on the north side. The text over the west window consists of five lines while that over the eastern one consists of four lines. The western text reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>2</sup> قيل ادخل الجنة قال يا ليتقومي يعلمون

Koran, XXXVI, 25-26 .

- هذه تربة الامير الاجل الاسمهلار الكبير المجاهد المشاعر المراتب  
المؤيد المختار الغازي<sup>3</sup>  
- زين الدين سيد الاسلام عضد السلاطين مقدم الغزاة امير الحاج  
والحرمين ابي سعيد  
قراجا الناصري الصلاحي قدس الله روحه كان شهيد غزوات معتقه  
الملك الناصر فخر الله وجهه

1. "Rep." refers to the building al-Madrassa al-Qarājiya (No. 3804), but it was never a madrassa for the inscription says expressly that it is a turba and there is no mention of such a madrassa in the works of the Arab historians.

2. Published in "Rep." No. 3804.

3. "Rep." has اسد الاسلام (the lion of Islam) but in fact the text is clearly visible as سدد الاسلام (the supporter of Islam).



- وحضر فتوح القدس حرسها الله والبلد الساحلية ولزم مراعاة  
عكسها واخذ من كل بالذبيح الاولى

The text over the eastern lintel contains four lines  
continuing the first text.

- ثم انه تقبل الله منه حج بيت الله الحرام سنة احدى وستمائة  
وتوجه غازيا سنة اربع وستمائة  
فتوفي حال عودته من غزاة طرابلس بقدس من عمل حمص مرابطا فيما  
بين الصلاتين من  
يوم السبت ثاني جمادى الاولى سنة اربع المذكورة تحمل ودفن في  
سبع هذا الجبل بكسرة يوم  
الاثنين ثالث يوم وفاته ثم نقل الى هذه التربة المباركة اول رجب سنة  
اربع عشرة وستمائة لما اشأها ولده سيف الدين محمد ابقاه الله

"Basmala...Koran, XXXVI, 25-26. This is the turba of the dignified prince, the great Isfahsalār, the fighter of the Holy War, the frontiersman, the soldier, the supported (by God), the selected (by God), the warrior Zain al-Dīn, the supporter of Islam, the assistant of the Sultāns, the leader of the wars, the prince of pilgrims and of the two sacred cities<sup>1</sup> Abū Sa'īd Qarājā, the subordinate of al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn - may God sanctify his soul. He joined the wars of his liberator al-Malik al-Nāṣir, may God brighten his face, and he joined in the conquest of Jerusalem, may God guard it, and the cities of the littoral. He was stationed at Acre and he gained his portion from each of these works". This is then continued in the eastern text:

"He then visited Mecca in 601H, may God accept his pilgrimage.

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1. I.e. Mecca and Madīna.

He went to war in 604H<sup>1</sup> and died immediately after his return from the war of Tripoli in Quds,<sup>2</sup> one of the villages of Ḥimṣ, while he was in the camp. That was between the two prayers<sup>3</sup> of Saturday 2nd Jumāda, I, 604H.<sup>4</sup> His body was carried away and was buried in this mound<sup>5</sup> on Monday morning, the third day after his death, and he was then transferred into this blessed turba on 1st Rajab 614H,<sup>6</sup> after it had been founded by his son Saif al-Dīn Muḥammad, may God save his life".

The historical accounts confirm the information given in the inscription. Ibn Kathīr lists the prince Zain al-Dīn Qarāja al-Ṣalāḥī or al-Naṣirī among those who died in 604H, adding that he was the governor of Ṣarkhad and that his turba was on the mound of Qasyūn, under a dome, on the main road near the turba of Ibn Timīrak. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil appointed his son Yaʿqūb as his successor in ruling Ṣarkhad after the death of his father.<sup>7</sup> This account is quoted word for word by al-Nuʿaimī.<sup>8</sup>

The battle of Tripolī, which is mentioned in the inscription, is recorded in detail by Ibn Wāṣil<sup>9</sup> who mentions the

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1. A.D. 1207-8.

2. On this village see Yāqūt al-Ḥamāwī, ʿMuʿjam al-Buldān, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1860-73), IV, p. 39.

3. Between the two prayers means the time between the mid-day prayer and that of the afternoon.

4. 24th November 1207.

5. i.e. Qāsyūn.

6. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 50.

7. Al-Nuʿaimī, II, p. 270.

8. Ibn Wāṣil, III, pp. 172-175.

death of Qarāja in 604<sup>1</sup>/1207. As further evidence of Qarājā's building activity one might cite two baths in Damascus which bear his name.<sup>2</sup>

### The Plan and Construction (Fig. 80).

The remains of the building indicate that the turba consisted originally of one dome chamber constructed on a plan showing strong resemblance to that of al-'Imādiya. The east and west recesses have been fully opened to give access to the two lateral parts added at a later date. The south recess contains a plain concave miḥrāb, while the north recess contains two windows. The west window is walled up while the eastern one has been converted into a doorway. This leads into a small triangular area used as a maiḍa'a (ablution place) for the mosque which has been built around the turba (Fig. 80).

The original entrance to this turba must have been through one of the two open recesses, either the eastern or the western. The turba was in a very bad state even before it was converted into a mosque and the conversion damaged it still further.

Three of the arches which top the recesses, the southern, the northern and the eastern ones, still remain, while the western one is completely ruined. These arches rise to a height of 4.20 m. and there is a cavetto moulding at a height of 4.65 m. from the ground level. This marks the beginning of the zone of transition.

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1. Ibn Wāṣil, III, p. 175.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", pp. 292 and 294.

Only a part of the octagonal zone of transition remains; all the other parts, and the dome itself, have collapsed. Enough remains of the octagonal zone to allow one to visualize its original state; it was just like that of al-Turba al-‘Imādiya. The remaining arches which form part of the octagonal zone are framed on three sides with a continuous stucco moulding (Fig. 81). The spandrels of these arches are decorated with vine scroll ornament. All the other parts over this zone are ruined.

#### Bibliography

"Rep." No. 3804.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, p. 135.

Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), p. 252.

## Section 8

## Al-Turba al-Faranthiya

or

The Zāwiya<sup>1</sup> of Shaikh 'Alī al-Farantī

Al-Turba al-Faranthiya is a single dome chamber situated in the Ṣāliḥiya of Damascus on the main road, to the west of al-Madrassa al-Murshīdiya or Khadīja Khātūn (Ch. III p. 173 ). The building is known as al-Zāwiya al-Faranthiya. It seems that the turba formed a part of al-Zāwiya al-Faranthiya which is no longer in existence, having been destroyed at an unknown date. This zāwiya was founded by 'Alī al-Farantī<sup>2</sup> and was kept up by his sons and successors after his death.

Al-Nu'aimī writes that 'Alī al-Farantī, the man in honour of whom the zāwiya was built, was a virtuous man, gifted with great powers, and one who worked miracles. He was devoted to spiritual exercises and lived as a hermit. He had many followers and disciples. He died in Jumāda II, 621/July 1224 at Qāsyūn and a turba was built over his tomb.

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1. On zāwiya see EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. Zāwiya.

2. The name has been pronounced in many forms. It is known by some Arab historians as al-Farantī (Sauvaire op.cit. IV (1894) p. 279) and also commonly as al-Farantī or al-Farantī. Al-Farantī is the form which Sauvaget renders in "MHD" p. 97. Herzfeld suggests that the name is al-Farīthī, basing himself on al-Yāfī'ī, "Mir'āt al-Jinān," IV, p. 48. Farīth is a village in the area of Wāṣiṭ, Iraq, according to Yāqut, op.cit. III, p. 889 (Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 56).

3. Al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 207.

The turba contains two tombs, one of them that of 'Alī al-Farānthī, and the other that of his grandson Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan al-Farānthī, who died in Ramaḍān 746/1345 and was buried in the zāwiya of his grandfather.<sup>1</sup>

The turba bears an inscription showing the date of the death of al-Farānthī. It is engraved on the lintel of the north window and consists of five lines (Fig. 82):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>2</sup> ان اللذير قالو ربنا الله ثم استقاموا تنزل  
 عليهم الملائكة ان لا تخافوا ولا تحزنوا وابشروا بالجنة التي كنتم  
 توعدون نحن اوليؤكم في الحياة الدنيا وفي الآخرة ولكم فيها ما تشتهي  
 انفسكم ولكم فيها ما  
 تدعون . هذه تربة العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله تعالى الشيخ<sup>3</sup>  
 علي الفردي<sup>4</sup> قدس  
 الله روحه توفي في العشر الاخير<sup>5</sup> من جمادى الاخر سنة  
 احدى وعشرين وستمائة

"Basmala...Koran, XLI, 30-31. This is the turba of the humble one, he who needs the mercy of God Almighty, Shaikh 'Alī al-Farānthī, may God sanctify his soul. He died in the last ten days of Jumada II 621". (A.D. July 11-20, 1224).

1. Al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 207.

2. "Rep." No. 3911; Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 57.

3. This word "تعالى" is omitted by Herzfeld.

4. Herzfeld has al-Farīthī and he adds after it بن شهر يار which does not exist at all in the text.

5. "Rep." has في العشر الاول من جمادى الاخر (in the first ten days of Jumāda, II). Herzfeld translates العشر الاخر (the last ten days) as "the second ten days" while he writes it correctly in the Arabic text.

### The Plan and Construction (Fig. 83)

The turba as a whole is aligned with the street and for this reason it does not face the qibla. It is a perfect square and thus is different from that of al-‘Imādiya. The difference is that this turba has no recesses on its interior sides. The entrance is set at the east end of the south-east side. It has only one window, at the middle of the north-east side. The two tombs mentioned are set according to the qibla; thus they are set diagonally facing the south corner. The building is remarkably well preserved, retaining most of its original state. It is constructed in the usual material of Ayyūbid turbas as Damascus, stone and brick.

The exterior façades of the square base are constructed of cut stone arranged in regular courses terminated by a bevelled cornice (Fig. 90). The window which is on the street side has a flat lintel on which an inscription is engraved and this is topped by a flat arch with three joggled voussoirs with an inscription engraved on the middle one<sup>1</sup> (Figs. 84 and 90). The interior of the square base is built of rubble and covered with a coating made of a mixture of shredded flax and plaster.

The transition zone of this dome is like that of al-Turba al-‘Imādiya, but it differs from it in the distribution of windows. The octagonal zone has only four windows arranged on the axes of the square base (Figs. 85-86). The sixteen-sided zone contains eight windows alternating with eight arched

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1. This inscription reads العزة لله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
(Glory to God; there is no god but God; Muḥammad is the messenger of God).



panels. Each of these arched panels is topped by a shell-shaped semi-dome of seven sectors (Fig. 86). The dome is smooth with no ribs (Fig. 89).

As regards the exterior of the zones of the transition, its dimensions have been disguised by successive coatings of plaster (Fig. 90), but enough of it remains to show that it used to be of the same form as that of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Fig. 91).

### The Decoration:

The interior of the turba, particularly the transition zone, still preserves its elaborate stucco decoration. Each of the arches of the octagonal zone and the arched panels of the sixteen-sided zone is surrounded with a frame of stucco on all sides above the springing. The spandrels of the eight arches in the octagonal zone are adorned with vine scrolls moulded in stucco. Moreover, the tympana of the axial arches in the octagonal zone have stucco decoration with one of two variant designs: a sundisc, or the same design surrounded by successive frames of stucco filling the top of the tympanum (Fig. 92).

The concave surfaces of the squinches are decorated with three different designs. The squinches on the north and south corners both have a roundel panel filled originally with a geometrical design. This decoration has fallen away, leaving the holes which were prepared as a foundation for the moulded stucco (Fig. 93). The west squinch bears stucco decoration consisting of five joined circles and pendants in bas-relief (Figs. 87 and 94). The east squinch is decorated with a

floral design of large motifs (Fig. 88).

The decoration of the second zone is restricted to the frames surrounding each of the sixteen arched panels and the shell-shaped semi-domes topping these arches.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 56-58.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 97.

Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), p. 279.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, p. 120.

S.D.A. File No. 98.

## Section 9

## Turbat Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd

This turba is not that of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī Ibn Āqsunqur who is buried in his madrasa (see supra, p. 25 ) but that of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī, the prince of Qarqīsyā,<sup>1</sup> as the inscription declares. It is known both as Turbat 'Ain al-Kirsh<sup>2</sup> and as al-'Aqabiya.<sup>3</sup>

The turba is a single dome chamber standing at 'Ain al-Kirsh, not very far from Turbat al-Daḥdāḥ (see infra, p. 115 ). It bears an inscription on the lintel of the northern window. The inscription consists of five lines of rather faulty Arabic, (Fig. 95):


- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>4</sup> هذه تربت (sic) العبد الفقير الى  
 رحمة الله تعالى نور الدين ابو القاسم  
 - محمود بن زكي بن مودود بن زكي بن اقسنقر صاحب قرويسيا<sup>5</sup>  
 قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه  
 - بمحمد النبي وآله وكان (sic) وفاته يوم الاربعاء رابع وعشرين من  
 جمادى الاول سنة اربع وعشرين وستمائه  
 - انتقل المولي الظاهر حسام الدين الشاب المنصور عثمان بن  
 محمود توفي في يوم الاحد  
 - خامس والعشرين من شوال سنة خمسة وثلاثين وستمائه  
 وهو ووالده في ضريح واحد

1. Qarqīsyā (Carchemish) is a town situated at the confluence of the Khābūr and the Euphrates (see Yāqūt, op.cit., IV, pp. 65-6).

2. "Rep." No. 4140. The area in which the turba stands is known as 'Ain al-Kirsh.

3. S.D.A. File No. 77.

4. "Rep." No. 4140.

5. "Rep." reads it as  while it is in fact قرقيسيا (Qarqīsyā).

"Basmala...This is the turba of the humble slave, he who needs the mercy of God Almighty, Nūr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī Ibn Mawdūd Ibn Zangī Ibn Āqsunqur the lord of Qarqīsyā, may God sanctify his soul and illuminate his tomb by the intercession of the Prophet Muḥammad and his family. He died on Wednesday 24 Jumāda I 624H.<sup>1</sup> Then was the death of the lord al-Malik al-Zāhir Ḥusām al-Dīn the young man embittered of his life, 'Uthmān Ibn Maḥmūd. He died on Sunday 25 Shawwāl 635H.<sup>2</sup> He was buried with his father in the same tomb."

### Plan and Elevation (Fig. 96)

The plan of the turba follows in most respects that of al-'Imādiya. It is a perfect square with four recesses at the four sides. There is an entrance at the middle of the west recess and a window at the middle of the north recess. A right-angled niche stands in the east recess. A concave mihrāb notable for its smoothly cut stone, and which once had a pair of columns, stands at the middle of the south recess.

The combination of material used in this turba is very similar to that of Turbat al-Daḥdāḥ. It has cut stone in the lower parts up to a height of 3.00 m., and the other parts above this point are built of brick (Fig. 97). Other contemporary turbas are constructed with stone up to the top of the square base and sometimes up to the top of the transition zone.

The inside of the turba is covered with a coating of plaster except for the façade of the mihrāb which is of smooth

1. 12th May 1227 A.D.

2. 11th April 1238 A.D.

cut stone. The front of the semi-dome, crowning the mihrāb, is adorned with interlaced decorative arches made of stone of two colours, black and yellowish white (Figs. 98-99), a design which became more common in the following period (the Mamlūk). All the interior - except the façade of the mihrāb - was covered originally with a coating of a mixture of shredded flax and plaster; at a later date it was replastered.

The transition zone of this dome follows, in most respects, that of al-Turba al-‘Imadiya, but it differs in the distribution of the windows and the shape of the corbels below the squinches. The octagonal zone has four windows instead of eight, set up on the axes of the square base (Fig. 100). The triangular corbels on the corners below the squinches are supported by bevelled shelves (Fig. 101). The dome has fallen but the remains of its springing line show clearly that it was not ribbed.

The exterior of the zone of transition reflects the interior; it consists of an octagonal base containing eight arches. Those which correspond to the squinches are shallow arched recesses and those on the cardinal axes each contain a small window (Figs. 97 and 102). Above this is the upper base which is a sixteen-sided figure containing sixteen arched panels, and eight windows alternating with eight right-angled niches topped with semi-domes (Figs. 97 and 102).

The square base, the octagonal zone, the sixteen-sided zone, and the dome are all separated from each other by a layer of stone slabs as in the domes of al-Turba al-‘Imadiya and the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya.

The exterior of the square base differs from the usual appearance of the contemporary domes in having bevelled upper corners (Figs. 97 and 102).

#### Bibliography

"Rep." No. 4140.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 64.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 273.

S.D.A. File No. 77.

## Section 10.

## Turbat al-Badrī

The remains of this building, which is known by the S.D.A.<sup>1</sup> as Turbat al-Badrī, formed a part of al-Madrasa al-Badriya which was built by Badr al-Dīn, who was also known as Lālā<sup>2</sup> (foster brother).

Ibn Kathīr states that in 615 (1218 A.D.) "al-Mu'azzam (al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā) was charged with the inspection of al-Turba al-Badriya opposite al-Shibliya near the bridge over the Thūra River known as the bridge of Kuḥail. He adds that this turba was called after Ḥasan Ibn al-Dāya. He was, with his brothers, among the greatest princes of Nūr al-Dīn. This turba was converted into a mosque about 640"/1242.<sup>3</sup>

The two above statements are quite enough to suggest that al-Madrasa al-Badriya was built in 638/1240 by Badr al-Dīn Lālā<sup>4</sup> around Turbat al-Badrī which was the mausoleum of Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn al-Dāya who died in 565/1169 (see supra, p. 33 ).

Basing himself on these accounts Sauvaget dated the turba to the latter part of the 12th century.<sup>5</sup>

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1. S.D.A. File No. 60.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 225.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, pp. 80-81. According to al-Nu'aimī the conversation was in 740/1339 (al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 477).

4. Badrān mistakes Lū'lū' for Lālā, but Lū'lū', the governor of Mosul, died in 657/1259 (Badrān, op.cit., pp. 153-4).

5. Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 95.



There is no heading for this building in the work of Herzfeld, but under the title of Turbat Raiḥān<sup>1</sup> he deals with the identity of Turbat al-Badrī.

Determining the identities of Turbat al-Badrī and Turbat Raiḥān is indeed confusing, not only because of the existence of the title Lālā in the biographies of the owners of both the two turbas, but also because there were other buildings bearing the same names as the two turbas but which were founded by other princes.

There is Turbat Raiḥān and al-Madrasa al-Raiḥāniya<sup>2</sup> and there is Turbat al-Badrī and al-Turba al-Badriya<sup>3</sup> which was built in 824/1421 by the prince Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan, who was the vizier of Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

The historians confirm that al-Madrasa al-Badriya was built by Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan, who was known as Lālā, in 638/1240.<sup>5</sup> It seems that the reason for Herzfeld's confusion is a misunderstanding of the text of Ibn Kathīr who does not say more than the words quoted above, while Herzfeld translates them as follows: "Year 615, Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā charged Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn al-Dāya with the inspection, niẓāra, of the

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 62.

2. Al-Madrasa al-Raiḥāniya was built by Jamāl al-Dīn Raiḥān, the subordinate of Nūr al-Dīn, in 575/1179 (See "Rep." No. 3342).

3. These two turbas are called so by the S.D.A. to distinguish the two buildings from each other, but Herzfeld calls Turbat al-Badrī al-Turba al-Badriya. (see File No. 60 in the S.D.A.).

4. Sauvaire, op.cit., VII (1895), p. 229.

5. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus" p. 225; al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 477; Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 244-245.

turba al-Badriya called after him."<sup>1</sup>

The text says that it was al-Mu'azzam himself who was charged with the inspection of the turba; moreover, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn al-Dāya died in 565/1169.

Most probably, Badr al-Dīn Lālā, who was said to be the founder of al-Madrassa al-Badriya, was charged later with the inspection of the turba and founded the madrassa around the turba in 638/1240. This madrassa is mentioned by most of the historians of Damascus and it was the place in which many famous historians lived such as Ibn al-Jawzī<sup>2</sup> who died in 654/1256 and Abū Shāma the author of "Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn".<sup>3</sup>

According to al-'Almawī the mosque or madrassa had fallen into ruins even before his time, when he wrote his abridged version of al-Dāris in the 10th/16th century.<sup>4</sup> The madrassa or the mosque which was added to the turba has disappeared and only the turba still remains; luckily it is in fairly good condition. This turba has been adorned internally with many bands of Kufic and naskh inscriptions of Koranic content; there are no inscriptions giving the date or any indication as to the identity of the founder. The apex of the domed roof of

1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 62. The Arabic text reads:

وفيها (٦١٥هـ) فوض الى الملك المعظم النظر في التربة البدرية تجاه الشليل  
عند الجسر الذي على سور ويقال له جسر كحيل وهي منسوبة الى حسن بن  
الدايه . كان هو واخوته من اكابر امراء نور الدين محمود بن زنكي وقبيل  
جعلت في حدود الاربعين وستمائة جامعا يخط فيه يوم الجمعة  
(See the translation, supra, p. 85).

2. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 194.

3. Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 263.

4. Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 244-245.

the turba had fallen and it has recently been restored (Fig. 103).

Plan and Elevation (Fig. 104)

The turba, with its square plan and symmetrical openings on all four sides, is like that of al-Najmiya; but it differs from al-Najmiya in the lack of recesses.

Ruins surrounding the turba rise about 2.00 m. from its ground level. It is constructed of stone and brick. The use of stone in the square base differs in this turba from the other Ayyūbid turbas; the turba is built externally and internally of roughly shaped stone covered with a coating of plaster, except for the entrance and the windows which are constructed externally of smoothly-cut stone.

The windows are designed according to the Ayyūbid method, namely a flat lintel topped with a segmental arch. The entrance which is at the middle of the north side is roofed with a horse-shoe arch like the entrances of al-Turba al-'Alā'iya (supra, p. 37 ), Turbat al-Daḥdāḥ (infra, p.115 ) and al-Turba al-Nūriya in the Madrasa of Nūr al-Dīn (supra, p.25 ).

The masonry over the entrance is strengthened with a wooden beam (Fig. 105) and this system recurs over the other openings.

Like the exterior, the interior of the lower part is constructed with roughly shaped stone and is covered with a coating of plaster. The square base is terminated with a band of Kūfic inscription consisting of verses from the Koran.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Koran, XXIV, vs. 35-38.

This band marks the beginning of the transition zone. Apart from the decoration, the transition zone of this turba repeats that of al-Turba al-Najmiya. It is of two superposed zones, octagonal and sixteen-sided (Figs. 106-108). The ribbed dome follows that of al-Najmiya in most respects (Figs. 103 and 107).

The outside of the transition and the curve of the dome follow the interior composition (Figs. 108 and 103). All the interior parts are covered with a coating of plaster elaborately adorned with paint and carved decoration. Each of the four sides of the square base is divided into three vertical panels and each of the two lateral panels, which are slightly recessed, is surrounded with a naskh inscription consisting of verses from the Koran<sup>1</sup> (Figs. 106-107). The panel itself is decorated with floral designs (Fig. 109C). The middle vertical panel contains the opening of the door on one of the windows in its lower part, and a square panel over it. The latter is surrounded with a band of naskh inscription of verses from the Koran, while its centre is occupied by a decorative Kufic inscription in the south side and floral designs on the other sides (Fig. 110B).

The square base is terminated by a band of leafy Kufic inscription consisting of verses from the Koran (Figs. 106 and 110A). In addition, the concave surfaces of the squinches in the octagonal zone and of the niches in the sixteen-sided zone

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1. The naskh inscriptions of this dome read: Koran, XXXVI, 1-9; IX, 18; XLVIII, 1-7; II, 255; LXII, 9-11; IC, 1-6; LXIII, 9-11; IVC, 1-8; LXXXVI, 1-10; IXC, 1-11. They are not continuous.

are adorned with oval medallions in a floral design. The tops of the shallow arched recesses on the cardinal axes of the octagonal zone, which contain the double small windows, are occupied on both the exterior and the interior by rounded panels having the form of twelve-lobed flowers (Figs. 106 and 110A). Another band of inscription, in naskh, runs along the top of the sixteen sided zone and this also consists of Koranic verses. All this decoration and epigraphy is executed in blue paint on a white background.

#### Bibliography

- Herzfeld, "Damascus.III", pp. 62-63.  
 Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 244-245.  
 Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 95.  
 S.D.A. File No. 60.  
 Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 263.  
 Kurd 'Alī, VI, p. 90.
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## Section 11

## Al-Turba al-‘Ālima

or

## The so-called al-Turba al-Yaghmūriya

This turba is situated at the west of al-Ṣālihiya on al-Sikka street, just opposite Turbat Raiḥān. It had been considered by the S.D.A. as an unidentified turba<sup>1</sup> and was then called al-Turba al-Yaghmūriya<sup>2</sup> designating it as a part of the turba and madrassa of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yaghmūr,<sup>3</sup> the governor of Damascus under al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, who died in 663/1263-4.<sup>4</sup> In 1949 a hitherto unknown inscription which was published by Munajjid,<sup>5</sup> permitted the identification of the building as the turba of Amat al-Laṭīf, known as al-‘Ālima. The inscription is on the lintel of the southern window. It is engraved within a panel measuring 107 x 32 cm. It contains six lines, giving the identity of the building and a short biography of its founder. It runs (Fig. 111).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انشأت هذه التربة المباركة التي في لحف جبل  
قاسيون جوار دار الحديث المعروفة قديما بزاوية الشيخ اليوناني بانيها  
ويومئذ بدار  
الحديث النبوي الفقيرة الى رحمة ربها عز وجل أمة اللطيف بدت الشيخ  
النجيه الامام العالم الاوحد ناصح الدين عبد الرحمن بن نجم الدين عبد  
الوهاب  
الحنبلي الانصاري قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه آنسها الله عز وجل  
في قبرها عند وحشتها بشهادة ان لا اله الا الله وأن محمد  
عبده ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم فانها صفت كتابا منها كتاب  
التسديد في شهادة التوحيد في قول لا اله الا الله وكتاب بر الوالدين

1. Munajjid, Khiṭaṭ Dimashq, (Beirut, 1949), p. 104.

2. S.D.A. File No. 64.

3. On this building see Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 291-5.

4. Al-Nu‘aimī, I, p. 649.

5. Munajjid, "Khiṭaṭ", p. 104.

وكتاب محبة  
 - الله ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم ترجو بها النجاة والرحمة  
 يوم القيامه انشاء الله وقد اوقفت على هذه التبريه برسم القرا  
 علي ضريحها وخادم يتولى  
 - خدمة البئر وزيت وشمع ويخور بستان صدقه وقاعه بدمشق بم  
 نصر عليه كتاب الوقف وذلك في شهر ر [ج] سنة اربعين وستم

"Basmala...This blessed turba, which is on the slope of Qāsyūn mountain near the Dār al-Ḥadīth known formerly as Zāwiyat 'Abd Allāh al-Yūnī its builder and at that time as Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī, was founded by the humble one, she who needs the mercy of God Almighty, Amat al-Laṭīf the daughter of the Shadīh, the Imām, the sole erudite Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Najm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb al-Anṣārī the Ḥanbalite, may God sanctify his soul and illuminate his tomb, and may God comfort the founder in her grave in her loneliness, that is by admitting that there is no god but God; Muḥammad is his slave and messenger. She compiled many books such as Kitāb al-Tasdīd fī Shahādat al-Tawḥīd fī qawl Lā Ilāha Illā Allāh, Kitāb Birr al-Wālidain and Kitāb maḥabbat Allah wa Rasūlihi. She hopes through them for safety and mercy at doomsday. She has endowed this turba, the readers of the Koran, the servant who takes care of the tomb, the oil, candles and the incense with the garden of Ṣadaqa and a qā'a (hall) in Damascus. That is according to the contract of the endowment and that was in Rajab 640H." (Oct-Nov. 1242).

Amat al-Laṭīf (who is also known as al-'Ālima), the



foundress of this turba, was an outstanding lady who lived in the Ayyūbid period. Ibn Kathīr states<sup>1</sup> that she was in the service of Rabī'a Khātūn, the founder of the Madrasa al-Ṣāhibiya,<sup>2</sup> and that it was she who advised Rabī'a Khātūn to found her madrasa and dedicate it to the Ḥanbalites.<sup>3</sup> She died in 653/1255 and her valuables were found to be worth about 600,000 dirhams.

The importance of the inscription mentioned above is that it not only shows the identity of the building but also that it adds some information about the biography of the foundress and her writings.

#### Plan and Elevation (Fig. 112).

The remains of al-Turba al-'Ālima (al-Yaghmūriya) consist of a dome chamber and a passage along its east side which is used nowadays as part of a dwelling house. The dome chamber is built on a square plan showing a considerable affinity to that of al-Turba al-Najmiya; it has four recesses with four symmetrical openings. The north and south openings used to be windows, but the north one has recently been converted into an entrance. The original entrance on the east side which used to be approached through the passage along the east side of the turba is walled up. At the middle of the west side there is a right-angled niche.

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1. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 170. The same statement is quoted by al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 112.
  2. On this madrasa see Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 9; Sauvaget, "MHD" pp. 100-102.
  3. On this madrasa see al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 112; Kurd 'Alī, op. cit., VI, p. 100 and Sauvaire, op. cit., IV, (1894), pp. 468-469.

### The Construction

The turba was built in stone and brick. The lower parts are constructed, externally and internally, of cut stone up to the first polygonal zone of the transition, but the interior is covered with a coating of plaster mixed with shredded flax, while the exterior is left exposed. The stone courses of the exterior are arranged regularly and the courses of the upper part of the north façade are of two colours, light and dark, arranged alternately (Fig. 113), a feature which became very common in the monuments of the Mamlūk period.

The façade is crowned with a bevelled cornice. Each of the openings of the square base is topped with a flat lintel with a segment of arch above it composed of two voussoirs (Figs. 113 and 114).

The interior is also constructed with courses of stone but the stone is rather roughly cut and covered with a coating of plaster mixed with shredded flax.

The transition from the square base to the polygonal one is carried out within the lower part, which is of stone, by means of four pendentives, each being a cross between pyramidal and spherical pendentives. These pendentives form a dodecagonal figure at the level of the crowns of the four arches of the recesses (Figs. 115, 116). On this base rests a dodecagonal zone containing twelve arched windows. Above this zone rests another zone of 24 sides formed by 24 small niches. This 24-sided zone is unique among the Ayyūbid domed buildings of Syria. The twelve which are over the corners of the lower zone have the form of squinches; the other

twelve alternate between open and blind (Figs. 116, 117).

Between these niches and covering their spandrels are set small pendentives with heads projecting towards the centre of the dome.<sup>1</sup> These projections together form a star-like figure of 24 points on which the ribbed dome rests (Figs. 116-117). The dome consists of 24 ribs, each resting on one of the 24 projections which terminate the second zone (Fig. 117).

The exterior of the transition zone and the dome itself repeat the interior complex, a dodecagonal zone with twelve arched windows. Another twelve-sided zone - instead of a 24-sided one as in the interior - rises over the lower zone. This second zone contains six windows alternating with six right-angled niches, each topped with a semi-dome (Figs. 113, 114 and 118). The whole complex is surmounted by a dome of 24 bold convex ribs corresponding to the interior ones (Fig. 113).

The stucco decoration of this turba bears a strong resemblance to that in the other Ayyūbid turbas of Damascus such as al-Turba al-Khātūniya, Turbat Ṭurkhān and al-Turba al-Husāmiya. The back wall of each of the four wide recesses is adorned with a floral design of two half palmettes crowning the right-angled frame of the window or the entrance (Fig. 116). The top of the back wall of the recess is decorated with a vine scroll moulded in stucco running around the intrados of the arches which cover the recesses.

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1. The same construction is seen in al-Madrassa al-Qilijiya (infra, p. 178 ).

The turba has been restored recently by the "Ministry of Awqāf".

#### Bibliography

Sauvaire, op.cit., IV (1894), pp. 477-8.

Ş. Munajjid, "Khiṭaṭ Dimashq" (Beirut, 1949) pp. 104-5.

Idem, "Abniyat", p. 282.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 10.

S.D.A. File No. 64.

## Section 12

## Turbat Raiḥān

Turbat Raiḥān is a single dome chamber situated in the Ṣāliḥiya of Damascus on al-Sikka Street, just opposite the Turba al-ʿĀlima (see supra, p.91 ).

The turba is so-called after Raiḥān Ibn ʿAbd Allah, who is mentioned in the inscription on the lintel of the southern window. This inscription consists of five lines, the first and the fifth lines being on the borders. It is the only document to give the turba's date and identification.

It reads:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ<sup>1</sup> هَازِي رَارَنَا الَّذِي نَحْنُ فِيهَا دَارَ  
حَقٍّ وَمَا سِوَاهَا يَزُولُ . نَاغْتَنِمُ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُ إِلَيْهَا عَنْ مَا قَلِيلِ  
يَفْضِي بِكَ التَّحْوِيلُ وَاعْتَمَدَ صَالِحًا يُوَادُّكَ فَيَهْلُ مَثَلَمَا يُوَدُّسُ الْخَلِيلُ الْخَلِيلُ  
هَازِي تَرْبَةَ الْعَبْدِ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى<sup>2</sup> رِيحَانِ  
بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَتِيقِ الْمَلِكِ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ الْمَلِكِ الْعَادِلِ رَحِمَهُ  
اللَّهُ الْمَعْرُوفِ بِالْإِلَاحِ<sup>3</sup> الْمَلِكِ الْعَزِيزِ بْنِ الْمَلِكِ الْعَادِلِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ  
عَمْرُوهَا<sup>4</sup> فِي سَنَةِ أَحَدٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَسِتْمِائَةٍ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ وَرَحِمَ مَنْ تَرَحَّمُ  
عَلَيْهِ وَرَحِمَ جَمِيعَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

1. This inscription is published by Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 62; "Rep." No. 4224.

2. This word is missing in Herzfeld's reading.

3. This word is not read in "Rep.".

4. "Rep." has عَمْرُوهَا (he built it), but, in fact, it is عَمْرُوهَا (they built it). Herzfeld's Arabic text reads عَمْرُوهَا (they built it) but he translates it as "he built it".

"Basmala...invocation<sup>1</sup>...This is the turba of the humble slave who needs the mercy of God Almighty, Raiḥān Ibn 'Abd Allah, the freedman of Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam Ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil, may God have mercy upon him, known as the Lālāt of al-Malik al-'Azīz Ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil, may God have mercy upon him. They built it for him in 641H,<sup>2</sup> may the mercy of God be upon him and upon those who pray for mercy for him and upon all Muslims".

The above-mentioned Raiḥān Ibn 'Abd Allah is not the Raiḥān Ibn 'Abd Allāh known as Jamāl al-Dīn, the freedman of Nūr al-Dīn, who founded al-Madrassa al-Raiḥāniya and played a very important part in ruling Damascus after the death of his lord. Lālā or lālāt means "foster brother" and thus he was, according to Herzfeld, the foster brother of Malik al-'Azīz, one of the sons of Malik al-'Ādil, and as he was a freedman of Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam, he had certainly been a mamlūk of al-Malik al-'Ādil.<sup>3</sup>

The man buried in this turba seems not to have been very well-known in the history of the Ayyūbid period since he is not mentioned in the works of the Arab historians, and according to the inscription, which is all we know about him, he died before 641/1243.

The building has not been classified yet as a historical monument by the S.D.A.; thus it is not marked on the archaeological map of Damascus.

1. The invocation in this text is the same as that in al-Madrassa al-Qiliḥiya (See infra, p. 179 ).
2. A.D. 1243.
3. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 63.

### The Plan (Fig. 119)

The building is of no great size. It is square with four recesses. It has a window at the middle of the south recess and a doorway at the middle of the west recess. Both the east and west sides of the turba are hidden by recent additions because the turba serves nowadays as a kitchen for the adjacent house.

### The Construction

The materials used in this building are as usual cut stone in the exterior of the square base, and brick in the dome and its transition zone (Fig. 120). The interior of the square base is constructed with roughly shaped stone covered with a coating of plaster. A very wide cavetto cornice crowns the square base from inside to mark the beginning of the transition zone and the use of brick.

The transition zone agrees in most respects with that of al-Turba al-‘Imādiya, being of two superposed zones, octagonal and sixteen-sided, with the same distribution of windows and niches (Figs. 121-124.).

Each of the eight sides of the octagonal zone is surrounded on three sides with stucco frames and the spandrels and the crowns of their arches are adorned with vine scroll ornament (Figs. 122-123). Like al-Turba al-‘Imādiya, there is a layer of stone slabs arranged horizontally to separate the stages of the transition zone and the dome from each other.

The curve of the dome itself has collapsed, as have some parts of the second zone, but the lack of the dentated base indicates that the dome was originally smooth and not ribbed.



As usual, the outside of the transition zone echoes the interior (Figs. 120 and 124). Although most of the details of the exterior have been hidden by a recent coating of plaster, there are enough traces of it to show that the octagonal base contained eight arches. The four which are on the cardinal axes contained pairs of small windows, while those which are on the diagonal sides, behind the squinches, were blind. The sixteen-sided zone contains eight windows alternating with eight niches and these niches have been badly damaged by the coating of plaster (Fig. 120).

#### Bibliography

"Rep." No. 4224.

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 62-63.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., p. 116.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 92.

## Section 13

## Al-Turba al-Qaimariya

This turba stands in the Ṣālihiya of Damascus on the main street just opposite the Bīmāristān al-Qaimarī.<sup>1</sup>

The turba shelters the tomb of the founder of this bīmāristān, Saif al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan Yūsuf Ibn Abū 'l-Fawāris Ibn Mūsik al-Qaimarī, as the inscription on the lintel of one of the southern windows affirms. It consists of four lines:

- بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ<sup>2</sup> كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ هَذِهِ تَرْبَةُ  
الْقَيْمَرِ إِلَى اللَّهِ  
- تَعَالَى<sup>4</sup> الْأَمِيرُ الْكَبِيرُ الْمُجَاهِدُ الْمُرَابِطُ رُكْنُ الْإِسْلَامِ كَهْفُ الْأَنْامِ<sup>3</sup> عَضُدُ  
الْفِزَاءِ وَالْمُجَاهِدِينَ  
- سَيْفُ الدِّينِ أَبِي الْحَسَنِ بْنِ الْأَمِيرِ أَسَدُ الدِّينِ يَوْسُفُ بْنُ أَبِي  
الْوَارِسِ بْنِ مُوسَى<sup>5</sup> الْقَيْمَرِي  
- تَوَكَّلْ عَلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لَيْلَةُ الْاِثْنَيْنِ ثَلَاثُ مَنْ شَعْبَانَ سَنَةِ  
أَرْبَعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَسِتَّمِائِهِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ وَرَحِمَ مَنْ تَرَحَّمُ عَلَيْهِ  
"Basmala...every living thing must taste death. This is the  
turba of the humble before God Almighty, the great prince, the  
fighter of the Holy War, the soldier, the pillar of Islam, the  
shelter of the creatures, the arm of the warriors and the  
fighters of the Holy War, Saif al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan, son of the  
prince Asad al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Abū 'l-Fawāris Ibn Mūsik al-Qaimarī.

1. On this building see Herzfeld, "Damascus, III", pp. 27-37.
2. Published in "Rep." No. 4409; Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 28.
3. These two words have been obliterated in the text and they are taken here from "Rep.".
4. "Rep." has مُسَدِّم (leader) while it is in fact عَضُد (arm).
5. In the inscription and in most of the historical accounts it is مُوسَى, Mūsik or Mūsak (see Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 195; al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 271) while Herzfeld suggests that it is Mūshik which is a Kurdish name ("Damascus. III", p. 28).

He passed away to the mercy of God on the eve of Monday 3rd Sha'ban, 654,<sup>1</sup> may the mercy of God be upon him."

Ibn Kathīr writes under the events of the year 654H that among those who died in that year was the founder of the Bīmāristān of al-Ṣālihiya, "the great prince Saif al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan (the son of)<sup>2</sup> Yūsuf Ibn Abū 'l-Fawāris Mūsik al-Qaimarī, the Kurd, the greatest prince of the Qaimarīs tribe. His people stood erect in front of him as is the custom in the presence of kings. Among his charitable works was the foundation of the bīmāristān on the slope of Qāsyūn. His death and his burial was on this slope under the dome facing the above-mentioned bīmāristān."<sup>3</sup>

Al-Dhahabī writes of Saif al-Dīn al-Qaimarī that he died in 653/1255 in a battle at Nāblus, and he adds that he was buried there in his turba opposite the bīmāristān.<sup>4</sup> According to Herzfeld the Kurdish tribe, the Qaimaris, came with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn from Kurdistān.<sup>5</sup> There are other princes also bearing the title of al-Qaimarī who founded buildings in Damascus.<sup>6</sup>

The turba is in a very good state of preservation. Formerly there was also a small mosque adjacent to its north side but this has been converted into a dwelling-house.<sup>7</sup>

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1. A.D. 25th August, 1256.

2. It seems that Ibn Kathīr omitted the word 'Ibn' (son) after Ḥasan; otherwise the text would not correspond with the inscriptions of the building.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 195.

4. Al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 27; Sauvaire, op.cit., VII, p. 235.

5. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 29.

6. Ibid.

7. A. Ṭalas, Dhail Thimār al-Maqāṣid fī Dhikr al-Masājid (Beirut, 1943), p. 247.

At the centre of the turba there are two tombs, with inscriptions on the smaller mentioning Muḥammad, the son of the man buried in the turba. It reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>1</sup> (Koran, II, 255 & IIX, 21-22) الامير محمد  
بن الامير سيف الدين صاحب المارستان حماته الله . هــذا  
قبر الطفل المنفص على حياة الدنيا محمد بن الامير سيف  
الدين ابي الحسن بن يوسف ابن ابي الفوارس القيمري توفي شهر  
صفر سنة ثمان وخمسين وستمائه (Koran, CXII,)

"Basmala ... Koran, II 256; IX, 21-22. The prince Muḥammad, son of the prince Saif al-Dīn, the owner of the māristān, may God protect it. This is the tomb of the child, he who is embittered with his life, the Prince Muḥammad, son of the Prince Saif al-Dīn Abū 'l-Fawāris Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Abū 'l-Fawāris al-Qaimarī. He died in Šafar 658H<sup>2</sup>, Koran, CXII".

Taking into consideration both the inscriptions of the turba and those on the entrance of the bīmāristān, it seems most probable that the turba was built between Rabī' II, 646H, the date of the founding of the bīmāristān, and 654H, the death of the founder.

### The Plan (Fig. 125)

The turba occupies an oblong area. This irregularity is minimised by the thickness of the east and west walls. Inside, it is a perfect square with four wide recesses differing in depth; those on the east and west are deeper than the southern and northern ones. The north recess contains two

1. "Rep." No. 4460.

2. Jan. - Feb. 1260 A.D.

openings corresponding to two others in the south recess. Within each of the east and west recesses there is a right-angled recess. In the centre of the turba lie two tombs of smoothly cut stone with the usual design of knobs at the corners.

### The Construction

The building is constructed of the usual combination of brick and stone. Well dressed stone is used in the exterior of the oblong base and the dodecagonal drum of the dome, while brick is used in the dome itself only. The openings, especially those of the south side, are constructed according to the typical Ayyūbid method. Each is topped by a flat lintel above which is another lintel composed of three joggled stones, the middle one being black. This lintel is so arranged as to leave a cavity above the lower lintel, and above this, in turn, is a segmental arch leaving another cavity above the second lintel (Fig. 126).

The whole interior is covered with a coating of plaster, which is a later addition, and thus it is hard to be sure what the material underneath is. Most probably it is of the same material as in other contemporary turbas, i.e. roughly cut stone in the lower parts and brick in the upper parts.

The transition from the square form to the dodecagonal form is carried out by means of four pendentives, each a cross between the spherical and the pyramidal, like those of Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam, al-Turba al-‘Ālima and al-Madrassa al-Qilijsiya (Figs. 127 and 128).

The dodecagonal zone has twelve arched windows; some of

these windows are walled up. It is terminated by a cornice on which the curve of the dome rests. The dome is pierced by two more windows, one facing north-west and the other south-east.

The exterior of the transition zone of this dome is also constructed with cut stone. It forms a dodecagonal base with twelve arched windows (Fig. 129).

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 28-30.

"Rep." No. 4409, 4410.

S.D.A. File No. 47.

A. Talas, Dhail Thimār al-Maqāṣid fī Dhikr al-Masājid (Beirut, 1943), p. 247.

Sauvaire, op.cit., VII (1895), pp. 252-253 and 296-299.

Sauvaire, "MHD", pp. 102-103.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., p. 124.

## Section 14.

"Ṭurkhān"  
Unidentified turba  
in

The cemetery of al-Daḥdāḥ.

This unidentified turba stands to the south-east of the cemetery of al-Daḥdāḥ at Damascus. It is surrounded with dwelling houses on all sides. It has been marked on the archaeological map of Damascus<sup>1</sup> as al-Madrasa al-Nāṣiriya.

Reference to the histories show that there were two madrasas of this name (Nāṣiriya) and that they were both built by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf Ibn al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, one of them inside the walls of Damascus,<sup>2</sup> and the other outside the walls in the Ṣāliḥiya. The building under discussion, however, is neither within the walls of Damascus nor in the Ṣāliḥiya.<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of the surrounding houses identify this building as the turba of Ṭurkhān.

According to the histories of that period there was an outstanding prince called Nāṣir al-Dawla Ṭurkhān who founded a madrasa at Jīrūn,<sup>4</sup> inside the walls of Damascus, in 525/1131. All the lintels of the windows and the entrance of the tomb have become hidden recently by the adjacent houses. Most probably there was an inscription over one of these lintels and the tradition related by successive witnesses has preserved

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1. This map is published by the S.D.A.; see also File No. 102.

2. Al-Nuʿaimī, I, p. 459; Ibn Shaddād "Damascus" p. 244; but Ibn Shaddād attributes the madrasa to Ṣalāh al-Dīn.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 80.

4. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 201; al-Nuʿaimī, I, p. 539.



some of its text. Thus the turba might have been for Nāṣir al-Dawla Ṭurkhān or one of his sons or grandsons. Nevertheless it is the architectural and decorative features of the building which are still more reliable for dating the turba.

### The Plan (Fig. 130)

The turba with its perfect square plan, the recesses and the symmetrical openings, follows in most respects the plan of al-Najmiya.<sup>1</sup>

The opening which is on the east side was originally the entrance and it is distinguished by its remarkable width. The original entrance has been walled up as has the window opposite it. The south window has been converted into a mihrāb, while the northern window has been opened as an entrance. At the centre of the turba there are two tombs with no inscription or decoration.

### The Construction

The turba is surrounded by dwelling houses on all sides and access to it is gained by means of a passage belonging to one of those houses. Thus all of the lower part of its exterior is hidden. However, the whole of the building is completely intact, and is constructed of the same materials of brick and stone.

Although most of the square base is hidden, its openings seem to have been constructed according to the Ayyūbid method and their lintels are clearly visible from the interior. Enough of the exterior of the transition zone is exposed to show

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1. Cf. Figs. 33 and 130.

the details of its construction. It consists of two superposed zones, an octagonal and a sixteen-sided one (Fig. 131). The octagonal zone in this dome shows a strong affinity to that of al-Turba al-Najmiya. Externally, it contains pairs of small windows while each of those on the diagonal axes contain pairs of right-angled niches, each being crowned by a shell-shaped semi-dome (Fig. 132).

The second 16-sided zone contains sixteen arched recesses containing, in turn, eight windows - some of which have recently been blocked up - alternating with eight niches consisting of the tops of the usual niches only, i.e. just a shell-shaped semi-dome (Fig. 132). This design is unique in the Ayyūbid period. The whole of the structure is surmounted by a ribbed dome of sixteen bold convex ribs, the section of which is a pointed horse-shoe arch (Figs. 132-133). All the interior is covered with a coating of the usual Ayyūbid mixture - shredded flax with plaster - on which there is fine decoration. The four openings in the square base are topped by pointed arches constructed on the same centering, thus the springers of the arch topping the entrance projects about 9 cm. towards its centre while there is no such projection in the other openings.<sup>1</sup> The transition zone of this dome, with its two superposed zones, the distribution of windows, the construction of the squinches and even - in a sense - its decoration follows that of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Figs. 133 and 135). The sixteen-sided zone is terminated by

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1. The same construction of the openings in the inside is seen in al-Madrassa al-Māridāniya (see *infra*, p. 132 ).

a dentated circle of the usual Ayyūbid form, i.e. linked segments around the top of the upper zone forming sixteen triangular projections from which the ribs of the dome rise (Figs. 130, 131 and 134).

### The Decoration

The stucco decoration of this turba is similar to that of al-Turba al-Najmiya. Each side of the square base is divided into three vertical panels. The middle one contains the wide recess with spandrels adorned with a vine scroll modified into a rather geometrical design. Each of the lateral panels is adorned with twin engaged arches sharing one suspended abutment and resting on spiral columns (Figs. 133 and 135). The top of the rectangular frame of each of the four openings is adorned with a pair of leafy branches arranged symmetrically on a vertical axis, in the same way as in al-Turba al-ʿĀlima. A frieze 85 cm. wide runs along the top of the square base consisting of an arcade on a very small scale moulded in stucco and resting on a row of mugarnas-shaped figures<sup>1</sup> (Figs. 133 and 135). The eight sides of the octagonal zone are surrounded with a framework of plaster and most probably they were like those in the upper zone.

When one compares the architectural style of this dome with that of the majority of the turbas of Damascus, one sees that it should be dated to the Ayyūbid period. None of its features show any obvious modification of the design typical of that period. Moreover, the turba can be dated more

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1. Cf. the decoration of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Ch. II, p. Figs. 35 and 39).

precisely by its decorative features, which show noticeable similarity to those of the second half of the twelfth century, particularly with those of al-Turba al-Najmiya, 561-575/1165-1179.

#### Bibliography

S.D.A. File No. 102.

## Section 15.

Unidentified Turba in the Ṣāliḥiya  
(perhaps Qubbat Ibn Timīrak)

This unnamed turba is situated in the Ṣāliḥiya of Damascus, on the main road, within the enclosure of a house,<sup>1</sup> about 30m. to the east of al-Turba al-Qarājiya,<sup>2</sup> and dominating its courtyard from the north. The building has not been registered by the S.D.A. as a historical monument.

No plan or drawing, or any other work concerning this building has been published, nor is it clearly mentioned in the lists of turbas in the works of the Arab historians. But in their demarcation of the position of al-Turba al-Qarājiya, which stands 30m. to the west of the building, the historians state that it is near Turbat Ibn Timīrak.<sup>3</sup>

The turba is classified here as an Ayyūbid one, not only because of the above statement but also because of its architectural style which shows a strong affinity with the other Ayyūbid turbas. Moreover, the building contains a tomb built of large cut stone, carefully arranged with four knobs on its four corners and executed according to the usual Ayyūbid design.<sup>4</sup>

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1. This house occupied plot No. 278, Zuqāq Sūq Abū Jarash.

2. Al-Nuʿaimī, II, pp. 270-71; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 50; Sauvaire, op.cit., VII (1895), p. 252.

3. The name Timīrak has been copied in Sauvaire wrongly as Mīral (ميرال).

4. See infra, p. 129 .

On the evidence of the plan, architectural style, stucco decoration and carving of the knobs, one may safely date it to the Ayyūbid period. The historical statements suggest that the building is the turba of Timīrak or Ibn Timīrak. But who is Timīrak?

The Arab biographical dictionaries say nothing about his life, but Abū Shāma mentions among the events of Rabī' I, 582/May-June, 1186, that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave the castle of Burj al-Raṣāṣ<sup>1</sup> to Timīrak.<sup>2</sup> The existence of a bath at Damascus in the Ayyūbid period under the name of "Ḥammām Timīrak"<sup>3</sup> indicates that he was an outstanding prince, because most of the baths of Damascus were founded by princes to be 'waqf' to maintain other public buildings.

Whether the building is ascribed to Timīrak or to Ibn Timīrak,<sup>4</sup> it can be regarded as an Ayyūbid building and can be dated to the end of the VIth or the beginning of the VIIth centuries (XIIth-XIII centuries A.D.).

#### The Plan (Fig. 136)

The plan of this turba resembles in most respects that of al-Turba al-Najmiya. It is square with four recesses and four openings arranged symmetrically on the axes. The eastern opening represents the original entrance and the other three are windows, now all walled up except for the north one which was recently converted into an entrance.

1. On Burj al-Raṣāṣ see Yāqūt, op.cit., I, p. 549.

2. Abū Shāma, II, p. 74.

3. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus" p. 291; Munajjid, "Khiṭaṭ", p. 9.

4. In al-Nu'aimī it is Ibn Timīrak and it is so in Ibn Kathīr also; but in al-Almāwī it is Timīral or Mīral, (ed. Sauvairé, op.cit., loc.cit.).

### The Construction

As usual, cut stone is employed in the square base and brick in the transition and the dome itself. Each of the four openings is constructed according to the method followed in al-Turba al-‘Imādiya. The exterior of the square base was probably covered with a coating of plaster which still exists on the south façade (Fig. 137). The interior of the square base is constructed of rubble and covered with a coating of stucco. The square base is terminated from inside by a cavetto moulding marking the beginning of the transition zone and the use of brick instead of stone.

Architecturally, the transition zone of this dome follows that of al-Turba al-Najmiya, but the triangular base of the squinch here is supported by a tiny cell (Figs. 138-139 and 140).

Most of the arches of the windows, as well as the upper parts of the sixteen-sided zone, are ruined (Fig. 140), so it is hard to determine whether this chamber was roofed with a ribbed dome or a smooth one.

The exterior of the transition zone does not differ greatly from the interior construction (Figs. 137 and 141). The decoration of this turba has the typical leafy vine scroll of stucco covering the upper corners of the square base, a moulded cornice separating each stage of the transition zone from the others, and stucco frames surrounding the spandrels and abutments of the arches in both zones of transition (Figs. 138-140). The right-angled recesses on the exterior are crowned by shell-shaped semi-domes of seven sectors. All these are decorative features to be observed in Ayyūbid turbas.



## Bibliography

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., p. 135.

## Section 16

Unidentified turba in the cemetery of  
al-Daḥdāḥ

This unidentified turba is situated in the cemetery known as al-Daḥdāḥ on Baghdād street in Damascus. It is marked on the archaeological map of Damascus as Turbat al-Daḥdāḥ,<sup>1</sup> probably because of its situation in this cemetery. It has no inscription, nor are there any clear historical statements to give the identity of this building. Thus the architectural and archaeological evidence is the only means of identifying it, and it is to this that Sauvaget referred in assigning the building to about the end of the XIIth century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The building was not in very good condition, but it has been restored recently by the S.D.A. (Fig. 142).

The Plan (Figs. 143-144.)

The turba consists of a domed chamber which contained three tombs until it was taken over as a centre of a local society, and a small oratory to the north of it (Fig. 143).

The tomb chamber is square with four wide recesses. It has two windows in the south side, one window in the middle of the west side, and two doorways at the north side leading into the oratory.

The oratory, which was entirely ruined before the recent restoration (Fig. 145), is oblong in plan. It has an entrance in the middle of the east side, two windows in the north side,

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1. S.D.A. File No. 74.

2. Sauvaget, "MHD" p. 59.

another window in the middle of the west side and a concave mihṛāb in the middle of the south side.

### The Construction

As usual, cut stone and brick are the materials employed, but stone has not been used for all of the square base. As in the turba of Maḥmūd b. Zangī, stone is used in the lower part of the square base up to the level of the springing lines of the arches of the recesses (Figs. 142 and 145). All the other parts from that level upwards are of brick.

All the openings are constructed according to the usual Ayyūbid method; a flat lintel topped by a curved segment of an arch. An exception is the entrance of the tomb chamber, which is crowned by a horse-shoe arch resembling those of al-Turba al-‘Alā’iya and al-Turba al-Badriya (supra, p. 37 and p. 85). The internal walls of this part are covered with a coating of plaster.

The openings of the oratory are crowned internally with two superposed flat arches, each consisting of three voussoirs with no cavity between them (Fig. 146A), except for the entrance on the east side which is crowned by a basket arch (Fig. 146B). The oratory has been roofed with a modern stone ceiling.

The transition zone of the tomb chamber consists of two superposed zones (Figs. 147-148). The construction of these two zones, the distribution of their windows, their squinches and the stucco frames separating the stages of the transition zone, are all similar to those of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Figs. 142, 147-149).

A slightly bulbous and smooth dome rests on the sixteen-sided zone, which has recently been restored (Figs. 142, 145 and 148). The exterior of the transition echoes the interior construction (Figs. 150-151). The exterior of the octagonal base in this dome differs from the norm in that for some reason the three northern sides have no arched panels and there are thus only five arched panels (Fig. 152).

#### Bibliography

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 59.

S.D.A. File No. 74.

## CHAPTER III

Domes of the Ayyūbid Madrasas and Other Public Buildings  
of Damascus.

## Section 1.

## Al-Madrasa al-Farrūkhshāhiya

The present remains of al-Madrasa al-Farrūkhshāhiya consist of two adjacent domed buildings of different dimensions and different dates: al-Turba al-Farrūkhshāhiya and al-Turba al-Amjadiya. They are situated on the bank of the River Baradā to the south of Abū Rummāna quarter.

Al-Nuʿaimī writes that al-Madrasa al-Farrūkhshāhiya is in al-Sharaf al-Aʿlā<sup>1</sup> (the Upper Sharaf). Ibn Shaddād, who classifies the building as a madrasa for the Ḥanafite madhhab, says that it was named after ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrūkhshāh and that it was founded in 578/1182-3 by Khaṭulkhīr Khātūn, the daughter of Ibrāhīm Ibn ʿAbd Allah and the mother of ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrūkhshāh. She was the wife of Shāhanshāh Ibn Ayyūb, the brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Kathīr is the only historian who regards the building as a madrasa for both the Ḥanafite and Shāfiʿite madhhabs.<sup>3</sup> Most of the Arab historians of the Ayyūbid period<sup>4</sup> agree that ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrūkhshāh died in 578/1182-3 and that the madrasa was founded at that time. However the inscription, which is more reliable than the historical accounts, gives the end of

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1. Al-Nuʿaimī, I, p. 169.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 219.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XII, p. 311.

4. Al-Nuʿaimī, op.cit., loc.cit.; Ibn Wāṣil, II, p. 126; Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 219; Ibn Kathīr, XII, loc.cit.; Abū Shāma, II, p. 33.

Jumādā II, 579/September, 1183 as the date of the death of Farrūkhshāh. The inscription consists of four lines within a panel measuring 90 x 30 cm. (Fig. 153). It runs:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر (sic) بإنشاء هذه التربة المباركة  
الفقيرة الى رحمة الله تعالى برسم ولدها الملك المنصور  
معز الدين والدنيا فرخشاہ بن شاہ بن ایوب الملكي  
الناصرى توفي مستهل جمادى الاخر سنة تسع وسبعين وخمسائه .

"Basmala ... The humble lady, she who needs mercy of God, has ordered this blessed turba to be founded for her son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Mu'izz al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunyā Farrūkhshāh the son of Shāhanshāh, the son of Ayyūb al-Malakī, al-Nāṣirī. He died on 1st Jumādā II, 579."

Mu'izz al-Dīn (otherwise known as 'Izz al-Dīn Farrūkhshāh) was the governor of Ba'albak in the reign of his uncle Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn from 575 to his death, when his son al-Malik al-Amjad was confirmed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as the governor of Ba'albak after his father. He ruled Ba'albak until he was deposed by al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā in 627/1229-30 and retired to Damascus where he was assassinated in 628<sup>2</sup>/1130. According

1. "Rep". No. 3381; Herzfeld, "Damascus, III" p. 45.
2. Abū Shāma, II, p. 33; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, "Fawāt al-wafayāt," ed. by M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, (Cairo, 1951) I, p. 150. Ibn Shaddād is the only historian who mentions that he was killed in 629/1231 ("Damascus", p. 252). Ibn Kathīr gives the date precisely as Shawwāl 628/1230 (op.cit., XIII, p.131) while Ibn Shākir puts his assassination at the beginning of 628/1230 (op.cit., I, p. 150). See also Abū Shāma, II, p. 33; Ibn Wāṣil, II, p. 126, al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 169.

to the historical accounts,<sup>1</sup> al-Malik al-Amjad was buried in his turba at his madrasa, which stands beside that of his father.

Under the heading of al-Madrassa al-Amjad, Ibn Shaddād says that it was founded by al-Malik al-Muzaffar Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, the son of al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh, after the assassination of his father by one of his slaves in 628/1230. Before his death he willed that this madrasa should be built and his will was executed by his son from the money that he had left for that purpose.<sup>2</sup>

The turba has no inscription, but by taking into consideration both the historical writings and its situation in relation to al-Madrassa al-Farrūkhshāhiya, it would seem obvious that the dome to the south of al-Turba al-Farrūkhshāhiya represents the turba of al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrāmshāh which was a part of al-Madrassa al-Amjadiya. Al-Nu'aimī gives a list of its teachers up to his own time<sup>3</sup> (the beginning of the Xth century H./VXI century A.D.) when Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥamza taught in it.<sup>4</sup>

Both turbas have suffered from the recent restorations and from neglect; for the north turba, al-Farrūkhshāhiya, was converted into a mosque in 1926 and the southern turba is used as a henroost.

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1. See previous note.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 252.

3. al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 172.

4. Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 77.



### The Plan (Fig. 154)

Only two turbas remain from the two madrasas, al-Farrūkhshāhiya and al-Amjadiya.

The north turba, al-Farrūkhshāhiya, follows, in its square plan, the four recesses and the symmetrical openings, the arrangement of al-Turba al-Najmiya. The east opening, which is wider than the others, serves as the entrance, while the other openings were originally windows. The north opening has been blocked up and the south one has been converted into a mihrāb. Al-Turba al-Amjadiya is also square with four recesses and four symmetrical openings. The depth of the north recess, in fact, equals the thickness of the north wall of the turba. In other words, the recess has no back wall,<sup>1</sup> but this back wall is replaced by the south façade of al-Turba al-Farrūkhshāhiya.

Formerly the turba had only one entrance, which was through the south opening of al-Turba al-Farrūkhshāhiya, and this opening was later converted into a mihrāb for the mosque. The former entrance was replaced by another one made through the west window.

### The Construction.

In addition to the preceding historical accounts, all the archaeological evidence indicates that the southern dome was added to the northern one at a later date.

The south turba, al-Amjadiya, still retains most of its

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1. Sauvaget's plan shows a back wall to this recess, which according to this plan has the same depth as the other recesses ("MAD", p. 27, fig. 11).

original form, while the north one, al-Farrūkhshāhiya, has been changed considerably. Its dome and the sixteen-sided zone fell into ruin and a new dome was set directly over the octagonal zone. Moreover, all its interior walls were covered with a further coating of plaster which damaged most of its stucco decoration and paintings; some panels and frames have, however, survived.

The north turba employs the usual Ayyūbid materials: cut stone in the lower parts and brick in the transition zone and the dome. The exterior of the square base was left uncovered. The openings follow the usual Ayyūbid method. The entrance is topped by a flat lintel crowned by a segmental arch. This arch is constructed with three voussoirs; two of them are joggled with the skewbacks while the keystone is a slab of black stone (Figs. 153 and 154).

The composition of the octagonal zone, which is the highest original part still existing (Fig. 156), and of all the interior, does not differ greatly from those of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Figs. 157-158).

Al-Turba al-Amjadiya, to the south, still retains most of its original appearance (Fig. 159). It is constructed of roughly cut stone. This leads one to presume that the turba was originally covered with a coating of plaster.

The exterior of the transition zone and the dome agree generally with that of al-‘Imādiya. The transition zone consists of two superposed zones, octagonal and hexadecagonal. The octagonal zone is decorated with eight arches; the axial arches are pierced by double small windows (Fig. 159), while

the other four are left blind. The hexadecagonal zone has eight windows alternating with eight niches. Each is topped by a shell-shaped semi-dome of five sectors.

The interior of the transition zone shows the same construction as that of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Figs. 157, 160-161). The dome which crowns the whole complex seems from the architectural point of view to be a smooth one, though sixteen shallow decorative ribs have been moulded over the brickwork (Fig. 162).

### The Decoration

The interior of both the turbas is covered with a coating of stucco as is the exterior of the transition zones and the domes. The northern turba was richly decorated with a complex of moulded and painted panels and frames.

The moulding is arranged in such a way that it follows the lines of construction;<sup>1</sup> a flat band of stucco frames each side of the square base and those of the octagonal zone. Another series of stucco bands follows the lines of the curves of the arches which crown the four recesses in the square base.

The upper corners of the four sides of the square base are ornamented by wave mouldings of an almost geometrical design (Figs. 158 and 163A). From the top of each arch of the four recesses in the square base rises a small decorative panel carved in the plaster with three different designs (Figs. 163B, C and 164).

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1. Sauvaget, "MHD", pp. 30-31.

All the painted ornament, which was concentrated in the concave surfaces of the squinches, has been removed. According to Sauvaget it was in blue paint on a white background. Each of the north squinches, which are well preserved, was decorated with a large pendant of scrolls with floral motifs and leaves turning in spirals and arranged symmetrically along the vertical axis (Fig. 165). As to the decoration of the southern turba, internal ornament is restricted to the stucco framework running around the spandrels of the arches in both the zones of transition.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus, III", pp. 44-46.

Sauvaget, "MAD", pp. 29-40.

Idem, "MHD", pp. 55-56.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, pp. 77 and 95.

"Rep.", No. 3381.

Sauvaire, op.cit., II, (1894), pp. 392-394 and III (1894), pp. 272-273.

S.D.A. File No. 20.

## Section 2.

## Al-Madrassa al-Jahārkasiya

Al-Madrassa al-Jahārkasiya is situated in the Ṣālihiya of Damascus, on the main street not very far from al-Turba al-Khātūniya. It was a madrasa for the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi'ite madhhab built by Ṣārim al-Dīn Khuṭluba, the subordinate of Jahārkas. He died in 635/1237.<sup>1</sup>

The madrasa was so called after Fakhr al-Dīn Jahārkas, who was an outstanding commander of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's armies. He became the Ustādh al-Dār of al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Uthmān, the governor of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> and he was the actual governor of Egypt after the death of al-Malik al-'Azīz.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Kathīr writes of Fakhr al-Dīn Jahārkas, "He was one of the princes of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's state. To him Qubāb Jahārkas, which are on the mound opposite al-Turba al-Khātūniya, are attributed and he was buried there. He was the governor of Bānyās and Tinnīn. When he died he left his child who was appointed by al-Malik al-'Ādil as his successor. He appointed also Ṣārim al-Dīn Khuṭluba al-Tinnīsī as the regent of the child. Ṣārim al-Dīn became the governor after the death of the child in 615/1217."<sup>4</sup>

Fakhr al-Dīn Jahārkas founded in Cairo the great Qaisariya ("market") called al-Jahārkasiya, and a mosque above

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1. al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 497.

2. Ibn Wāṣil, III, p. 31.

3. Ibid., III, p. 87.

4. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 63.

it.<sup>1</sup> The name of Fakhr al-Dīn Jahārkas is written in various ways by the Arab historians. Ibn Kathīr has Sharkas or Sarkas,<sup>2</sup> while Ibn Khallikān gives the name properly as 'Jihārkas',<sup>3</sup> which means 'four souls' in Kurdish. "Ṣārim al-Dīn Khuṭluba Ibn 'Abd Allah, the white slave of Jahārkas and the guardian of his son who followed his father in governing Tinnīs and its surrounding fortresses, was buried with his lord in Qubāb Jahārkas which he himself had built after the death of his lord."<sup>4</sup> He died in 635/1237. The historians and the inscriptions agree that Jahārkas died in 608/1211, but Ibn Wāṣil is the only one who gives 607H as the date of his death.<sup>5</sup>

The remaining inscriptions on the building confirm the information given by the historians. Three inscriptions can be seen nowadays. Herzfeld mentions two other inscriptions which no longer exist;<sup>6</sup> probably they were covered by the rebuilding of the prayer hall or were hidden by the adjacent houses. The existing inscriptions are engraved on the lintels of the windows on the south façade. The first one runs:

- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا قبر الامير الاسفهلار الكبير

- الغازي المجاهد فخر الدين حافظ شغور المسلمين قاتل المشركين

- استار جهار كس العادلي الناصري توفي عقيب عود الغزاة في العشرين

- من رجب سنة ثمان وستمائة ورحم الله من ترحم عليه وعلى جميع المسلمين

1. Ibn Kathīr, loc. cit.; al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 496.

2. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 36.

3. Ibn Khallikān, op.cit., I, p. 150.

4. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 151.

5. Ibn Wāṣil, III, p. 208.

6. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 51.

7. "Rep." No. 3687.

"Basmala...This is the tomb of the prince, the great Isfahsalār, the warrior, the fighter of the Holy War, Fakhr al-Dīn, the protector of Muslim frontiers, the killer of polytheists, Istār Jahārkas al-‘Ādilī al-Nāṣirī. He died after he returned from the war on 20th Rajab 608;<sup>1</sup> may the mercy of God be upon those who asked for mercy for him and upon all Muslims".

Almost the same words are repeated in inscription No.42 published by Herzfeld.<sup>2</sup>

The second existing inscription which is on the south

façade reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>3</sup> هذه تربة الأمير الاسفهلار الكبير الخازي المجاهد  
في سبيل الله تعالى ناصر المسلمين قاتل المشركين استار جهاركس العادل  
الناصر توفى الى رحمة الله تعالى في العشرين من رجب سنة ثمان وستمائة  
واوقف عليها جميع القواسر السليمانية قرب اسواق اركماس رحمه الله تعالى

"Basmala...This is the turba of the prince, the great Isfahsalār, the warrior, the fighter of the Holy War, the supporter of the Muslims, the killer of the polytheists, Istār Jahārkas al-‘Ādilī al-Nāṣirī. He died on 20th Rajab in the year 608.<sup>4</sup> He endowed it with all al-Qawāsir al-Sulaimāniya near the Arkmās markets, may the mercy of God be upon him."

The third inscription is also on the south façade. It reads:

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1. 28th December 1211 A.D.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus, III", p. 51.

3. "Rep." No. 3688.

4. 28th December 1211 A.D.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>1</sup> هذه تربة العبد الفقير لمولاه الكبير  
 ابو منصور استار فخر الامراء عمدة الدولة الصلاحية جهاركس بن عبد الله  
 الناصري فخر الدين توفي الى رحمة الله تعالى في شهر سنة ثمان وستمائه

"Basmala....This is the turba of the humble slave, he who  
 needs the mercy of the Lord, Abū Manṣūr Istār, the pride of  
 the princes, the supporter of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's state, Jahārkas  
 Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Nāṣirī Fakhr al-Dīn. He passed away to  
 the mercy of God during the months of 608H." (1211 A.D.).  
 The vanished inscription published by Herzfeld<sup>2</sup> gives the  
 information that Muḥammad son of Jahārkas was buried in  
 this turba also:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم توفي الامير الغازي المجاهد الم رابط المشاغر  
 فخر الدين محمد ولد الامير الاجل فخر الدين جهاركس يوم السبت خامس عشر  
 جمادى الآخر سنة عشر وستمائه بشام المحروس .

"Basmala...The prince, the warrior, the fighter of the Holy War,  
 the soldier, the guardian of the frontiers, Fakhr al-Dīn  
 Muḥammad, son of the very mighty prince Fakhr al-Dīn Jahārkas,  
 passed away on Saturday, 5th Jumādā II, 615<sup>3</sup> at Damascus the  
 well guarded".

#### Plan and Construction (Fig. 166)

The surviving building certainly does not represent the  
 whole madrasa. The existence of the prayer hall with its  
 three openings implies, in fact, that there was a courtyard

1. "Rep." No. 3689.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 51.

3. 29th August 1218 A.D.

into which the prayer hall opened.<sup>1</sup> The original triple entrance of the prayer hall has been blocked up recently and one of the windows of the south side has been converted into an entrance. The miḥrāb still retains its two columns with their capitals. The prayer hall has been rebuilt recently and is now used as a mosque (A in Fig. 166). To the east of the prayer hall stand two dome chambers (B and C in Fig. 166).

The building shows traces of two periods of construction. The prayer hall and chamber B belong to the first period and were probably carried out immediately after the death of Jahārkas in 608/1211. Chamber B represents the second period of construction. It was probably added just before 635/1237, the date of the death of Ṣārim al-Dīn Khuṭluba.

The two turbas contain four tombs of the typical Ayyūbid type. Each of these tombs has four stone knobs on the corners. These knobs are in the form of small models of domes<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 167-168). Three of these tombs can presumably be identified by the inscriptions dating the building and the historical accounts. They are the tombs of Jahārkas, who died in 608/1211, his son Muḥammad who died in 615/1218 and Khuṭluba who died in 635/1237. The fourth tomb is unidentified.

The two turbas are virtually identical in their plans, which follow the typical plan of Ayyūbid turbas. Each is square with four recesses and with an opening in the middle of each side,

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1. Sauvaget, "MAD", p. 42.

2. There are tombs like these in Turbat Ibn Timīrak, al-Madrassa al-Rukniya and Turbat Mithqāl of 621/1224.

but the south side in both of the turbas has two windows. The customary Ayyūbid materials, cut stone and brick, are used in these turbas.

Architecturally, both the turbas follow in most respects that of al-Najmiya. Each has two superposed zones with eight windows in each zone (Figs. 169-173). But the corners of the squinches in the domes of al-Madrassa al-Jahārkasiya are supported by tiny cells (Figs. 171-173). The windows originally had stucco grilles; traces of their grilles are still visible.

The domes of the two turbas are now ruined but enough remains to show that they were originally of ribbed construction of the type used in al-Najmiya. The exterior of the transition zone of these turbas reflects the interior construction (Figs. 174-175). Each of them has an octagonal zone decorated with eight arches. The four axial arches contain double small windows while the other four are blind. This zone is topped by a hexadecagonal zone. It contains eight windows alternating with eight right-angled recesses. Each of these recesses is crowned by a shell-shaped semi-dome of seven sectors in turba B and eleven sectors in turba C (Fig. 174).

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 50-52.

"Rep." Nos. 3687, 3688, 3689.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 281.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 96.

Idem, "MAD", pp. 41-50.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 91.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, p. 124.

Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 249-251.

S.D.A. File No. 96.

## Section 3.

## Al-Madrasa al-Māridāniya.

Al-Madrasa al-Māridāniya, or as it is known today, Jāmi' al-Māridāniya, is situated on the Ṣāliḥiya street of Damascus. Ibn Shaddād writes that it was built by 'Azīzat al-Dīn Ikhshāwīra Khātūn, the daughter of al-Malik Quṭb al-Dīn (the lord of Mārdīn) and the wife of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, in the year 610/1213. The building was completed in 624/1227. He gives a list of the teachers there from that year up to his own time.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Nu'aimī says that it was situated in the proximity of Nahr Thawrā, very near to al-Jisr al-Abiad ("the white bridge") in the Ṣāliḥiya. He believes that the founder was the daughter of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd Ibn Atābik Zangī, the brother of Nūr al-Dīn and the lord of Mosul. He mentions endowments of which the records had been lost but which reappeared in 820/1414. These endowments were a garden near the white bridge, another garden near the madrasa and three shops near the above-mentioned bridge. He records a condition that its teacher should never teach in another madrasa. He then completes the list of its teachers as given by Ibn Shaddād, up to the Xth century<sup>2</sup> A.H.

Khadīja Khātūn, the daughter of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā, died in Jumādā II 650/1252 in the garden of al-Māridāniya and was buried in her turba on the mountain of Qāsyūn.<sup>3</sup> The

1. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", pp. 227-8 (Ibn Shaddād died in 684/1285).

2. Al-Nu'aimī, I, pp. 592-3.

3. Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), p. 279.

garden belonged to her since she had given it as an endowment to her madrasa.<sup>1</sup> It seems that she was the daughter of 'Azizat al-Dīn and had inherited the garden from her mother. Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd of Mosul (544-565/1149-1169) had married a bride of his deceased brother Ghāzī, the daughter of Ḥusām al-Dīn Tīmūrtāsh (516-547/1122-1152) of Mārdīn.<sup>2</sup> It is much more probable that 'Azīza was the daughter of this latter prince.<sup>3</sup> The founder of this madrasa was not buried in it. Some historians mention that she went back to Mārdīn after the death of her husband.<sup>4</sup> Another author records that she went to Mecca to make the pilgrimage and stayed there.<sup>5</sup>

The building was used as a madrasa until the Xth/XVth century and it seems that the domed chamber was used as a cemetery during that time, since the prince Saif al-Dīn Asbaq al-Azdamīr who died in 816/1413 was buried there.<sup>6</sup> The domed chamber now contains eight tombs belonging to the family of al-Mu'aiyad, the governors of Damascus during the XVIIth-XIXth centuries.<sup>7</sup> The building now serves as a mosque under the name of Jāmi' al-Māridāniya.

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1. Al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 576. See also infra, p.

2. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, VIII, p. 246.

3. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 20.

4. Sauvairé op.cit., III (1894), p. 283.

5. Ibid., loc. cit.

6. Sauvairé, op.cit., III (1894), p. 282.

7. S.D.A., File No. 63.

### The Plan (Fig. 176)

The shape of the building is determined by the bifurcation of three streets. Although the building has suffered from recent additions to its interior, it still has the fundamental characteristics of a madrasa; an open courtyard with basin, a prayer hall, an īwān and a turba (Fig. 176). The south side of the courtyard is occupied by three archways, the usual form of entrance to a prayer hall attached to a madrasa in Syria - especially at Aleppo and in North Syria.<sup>1</sup> The middle one is wider than the others. It is noticeable that the façade and the mihrāb of the prayer hall have been rigorously aligned with the entrance door, creating a notable dissymmetry in the internal disposition of the courtyard.

To the east and west of the courtyard there are īwāns of unequal size. The east īwān is fully developed and larger than the west one.

The south-east corner is occupied by the turba which, apart from the distribution of its openings, follows the plan of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Fig. 177).

The building is not homogeneous in date; the prayer hall, the turba and the entrance door are without doubt of the Ayyūbid period, as the nature of their masonry and the details of their construction and decoration attest. Sauvaget attributes the rest of the building to the Mamlūk period or

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1. Other examples of the same period are al-Madrasa al-Jahār-kasiya, at Damascus, al-Madrasa al-Shādhbakhtiya, al-Madrasa al-Zāhiriya, al-Madrasa al-Sulṭāniya, al-Firdūs, al-Madrasa al-Sharafiya, Khānqāh al-Farāfra and al-Madrasa al-Kāmiliya at Aleppo.



even to the last years of the XIVth century.<sup>1</sup>

Construction of the Turba:

The turba, which occupies the south-west corner is constructed, externally, of cut stone, as are the original walls of the madrasa. The typical Ayyūbid method is followed in constructing the exterior of the openings, but with different details (Fig. 178A and B). Internally, the openings of the square base and the prayer hall are topped by pointed arches; they are all of the same form (Fig. 178C) except that over the entrance which has springers projecting towards the centre (Fig. 178D). The only entrance to the turba, which is at the middle of its north side, opens into the west īwān. There is a concave mihrāb at the middle of the south side flanked by two windows. Each of the east and west sides has a window; the east one is blocked up.

Apart from some minor variations, the transition zone of this turba follows that of al-Najmiya. It is of two superposed zones, an octagonal and a sixteen-sided one, with the same distribution of windows and niches as al-Najmiya. There are two fundamental differences between this dome and the dome of al-Najmiya. Firstly, the exterior of the transition zone up to the top of the second zone is built of cut stone (Fig. 179). It is hard to be sure whether the interior of the transition zone is made of brick or stone, because it is all plastered (Figs. 180 and 182). Secondly,

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1. Sauvaget, "MAD", p. 119.

the corners of the squinches are supported by shell-shaped tiny cells (Figs. 182-183) a feature which occurs in this turba for the first time.

The exterior of the transition zone does not differ greatly from those which are constructed with brick (Figs. 179 and 184). It reflects the interior composition. The dome, which is smooth, is completely intact (Figs. 181 and 185).

#### The Decoration:

The building retains much of its rich decoration. The lintel of the main entrance, which is fully described by Sauvaget,<sup>1</sup> is covered with a carved wooden panel partly hidden today by boards. The ornament consists of small polygonal panels created by the intersection of beaded bands. The geometrical panels determined by the intersection of the frames are filled with fine floral designs (Fig. 186).

The wooden door of the prayer hall, which has been transferred into the National Museum of Damascus, is finely decorated (Fig. 187). The interior of the prayer hall has eleven windows; two of them still retain their polychrome glass. Each of these two windows is surrounded with a beaded frame enclosing a panel filled with a floral design of four raw and violent colours, red, yellow, green and blue (Fig. 189). Sauvaget believes that this polychrome glass dates from the foundation of the building.<sup>2</sup>

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1. "MAD", pp. 122-4.

2. "MAD", p. 125.

In addition, shell-shaped semi-domes adorn the hexadecagonal zone, and shell-shaped tiny cells support the corners of the squinches. They are carved in the stone instead of being moulded in plaster on brickwork, which led to the ornament being thinly, not deeply incised. The ribs of the semi-domes are also thinly incised and their number is greater than usual (Fig. 185).<sup>1</sup>

#### Bibliography

- Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 20-21.  
 Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 96.  
Idem, "MAD", pp. 119-130.  
 Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 282-283.  
 Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 96.  
 Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 270.  
 S.D.A. File No. 63.

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1. "MAD", p. 122.

## Section 4

## Al-Madrasa al-‘Ādiliya

The madrasa of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, "al-‘Ādiliya", is situated in Damascus about 100m. from the north-west corner of the Umayyad mosque, just opposite the well-known madrasa and turba of al-Malik al-Zāhir. The madrasa has no inscription, but every word of the literary tradition is confirmed by the nature of the building. It was a madrasa for the Shāfi‘ite madhhab.

Its building extended over several reigns. It was founded in 568/1172 by Nūr al-Dīn after the arrival of the great professor (shaikh) Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī, for whom Nūr al-Dīn had decided to build this madrasa.<sup>1</sup> Nūr al-Dīn died in 569/1173 before finishing his madrasa and it was left unfinished until al-Malik al-‘Ādil Saif al-Dīn came to power and tried to complete it; but he died before he could achieve this. It was finally completed by his son, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, who buried his father in a turba there.<sup>2</sup> Abū Shāma gives the information that other governors tried to complete the building between the death of Nūr al-Dīn and the accession of al-‘Ādil, i.e. 569-596/1167-1200, but al-Malik al-‘Ādil removed all that they had built including the work of Nūr al-Dīn. He writes: "Al-Madrasa al-‘Ādiliya was built by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abu Bakr <sup>ibn</sup> Ayyūb, the brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. It contains his turba. I saw, myself, what Nūr al-Dīn and his

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1. Abū Shāma, I, p. 214.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 240.

successors had built; it was in the position of the present prayer hall and mihrāb. When al-Malik al-ʿĀdil built the madrasa he removed that building".<sup>1</sup> It seems that the turba was finished before the other units of the building. Al-Nuʿaimī states that "al-ʿĀdil died in 615/1218 and was buried in the castle of Damascus, then his son al-Malik al-Muʿazzam transferred him and buried him in his turba at al-Madrassa al-ʿĀdiliya in 619/1222 and the madrasa was not finished at that time; it was finished in the following year".<sup>2</sup>

The building itself occupies an important place in the history of Damascus; within its walls Abū Shāmā wrote his work "al-Rawḍatayn", and Ibn Khallikān finished his famous history. By its entrance Ibn Mālik al-Naḥawī stood calling the people to attend his lectures. In al-Madrassa al-ʿĀdiliya lived Ibn Khaldūn at the beginning of the IXth/XVth century.<sup>3</sup>

The building suffered after the 7th century from vandalism, earthquakes and fires<sup>4</sup> until the beginning of this century when it was restored and was taken over as a museum in 1919; very soon thereafter it became the Arabic Academy centre. Other restorations were made in the years 1942, 1945 and 1948.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Abū Shāma, loc.cit.

2. Al-Nuʿaimī, I, pp. 360-361.

3. Kurd ʿAlī, op.cit., VI, p. 85.

4. Creswell visited the building before and after the restoration and described it as having a deplorable appearance; fine masonry having been thickly plastered with cement and repainted, so that it recalled stage scenery instead of ashlar (MAE, II, p. 112, n.1).

5. Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 271.

### The Plan (Fig. 189)

Although the plan of the building has been changed greatly as a result of successive restoration, it contains, nowadays, the principal units of a madrasa. It has a courtyard with a basin for ablution and all the other units disposed around this courtyard. On its south side is the prayer hall with five bays open onto the yard.

The north side of the courtyard was occupied by a vast īwān. All the parts behind the façade of this īwān are modern, but according to the plan drawn by Herzfeld, it was about 9.25m. deep.<sup>1</sup> The west side of the yard is entirely modern and it is hard to trace any old work behind its façade.<sup>2</sup> According to the disposition of the remaining entrances of this façade which opens onto the yard, and according to the plans made by Herzfeld,<sup>3</sup> Sauvaget<sup>4</sup> and the S.D.A.,<sup>5</sup> it is clear that there must have been five bays, the middle one of which was an īwān with two cells for students on each of its two sides. The east side of the courtyard is occupied by the entrance, in the middle, and an aggregate of rooms at the north-east corner. The south-east corner of the building is occupied by the turba, which is a remarkably large chamber (Fig. 190).

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", Fig. I, p. 2.

2. Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 112.

3. "Damascus. III", p. 2. Fig. 1.

4. "MAD" p. 78, Fig. 42; MHD, p. 62, fig. 22.

5. S.D.A. File No. 24.

Because of the great similarity between the plan of this madrasa and the plan of al-Madrasa al-Nūriya<sup>1</sup> some scholars have connected the two stylistically. In the opinion of Herzfeld, "the plan is a replica of the Nūriya and it was probably designed by the same architect. If it were not for the greater size of the tomb chamber and its extension through the inner court, one could mistake one plan for the other".<sup>2</sup> On the basis of this similarity between the two plans, al-ʿAdiliya is dated by Herzfeld to 567-569/1171-1173.<sup>3</sup>

### The Construction

All the exterior of the building is constructed of cut stone. The various building campaigns are reflected on its exterior. Two methods of cutting the stone are distinguishable on the south and east façades. The lower ten courses in these façades were cut smoothly, while the upper courses were cut more roughly, but with smooth edges (Fig. 191). Brick is used for the dome of the turba and stone for the transition zone.<sup>4</sup>

The successive restorations of the building, particularly that of 1919, have changed most of its original appearance. But a few original architectural and decorative elements are to be noticed; they are apparent on the entrance, the east and south external façades, some of the internal façades of the courtyard and the tomb chamber. Only two

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 46; Sauvaget, "MAD", p. 88; idem, "MHD", p. 44.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 46.

3. Ibid.

4. Sauvaget, "MAD", p. 82.



elements need emphasis here: the turba and the double small domes covering the entrance bay. The tomb chamber occupies the south-east corner (Fig. 190). The turba is almost square with four recesses at the four sides. The south side has a concave mihṛāb flanked by two windows; the east recess has two windows. The north recess has an opening in the middle; it seems, on the analogy of the turba of Nūr al-Dīn, that it was an entrance. On the north end of the west recess is the present entrance of the turba. At the upper part of each of these recesses there is a window of the same size as the lower windows. Three methods were followed in constructing the exterior of the windows of this turba (Fig. 192).

As the chamber is too large to be roofed by a dome of similar proportion to the ground plan and is also oblong, the architect tried to gain the smallest possible square base for the dome by means of various types of arches (Figs. 190, 193 and 194). The construction of the transition zone of this dome differs considerably from those of other Ayyūbid domes. Four triangular pendentives are set over the four corners to transform the base into a circular shape. The surface of each of these pendentives is covered with four courses of shallow decorative cells (Fig. 193). These cells seem to have no architectural value.

The pendentives transform the base directly into a circle without an intermediary octagonal zone; the transition zone is marked by eight windows, two windows between every pendentive. A slightly pointed and smooth dome rests above this complex. The exterior of the transition zone is

distinguished by an octagonal zone with two windows at the middle of each of the axial sides. This is an unusual arrangement. The base is built of cut stone (Fig. 155).

Another form of dome construction can be seen in the double small domes roofing the bay of the entrance on the east façade (Fig. 192). Its frontal part is crowned by an unusual arch with a suspended keystone which has in reality a decorative value. From a purely architectural point of view, however, the frontal part of the entrance bay takes the form of an arch in full curve with a suspended keystone (Figs. 196-197). The area between this arch and the back wall of the bay is roofed by two adjacent decorative domes with small monolithic ribbed shells. Each of these two shells rests on two superposed octagons formed by three courses of small mugarnases.

Sauvaget attributes this masterpiece to the professional skill of the constructors of al-‘Ādiliya,<sup>1</sup> while Herzfeld connects it with the construction of al-Madrassa al-Nūriya and writes: "The building was founded immediately after the completion of the Nūriya in 567 but was finished only in 619/1222 after two interruptions. Apparently this vault belongs to the phase of the completion, but since the plan of these two madrasas is identical, the second architect may simply have carried out what the first planned".<sup>2</sup>

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1. "MAD", p. 84.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 1.

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Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", pp. 46-49.

Sauvaget, "MHD", pp. 62-64.

Idem, "MAD", pp. 77-91.

K.A.C. Creswell, "The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairene Madrasas", Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, XXI, (1923), pp. 1-54 (to be cited as "Cruciform Plan").

Idem, "MAE", II, p. 112.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., p. 85.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 271.

S.D.A. File No. 24.

Sauvaire, op.cit., II (1894), pp. 423-424 and III (1894), pp. 248-252.

## Section 5.

## Al-Madrasa al-Rukniya

This madrasa was built by Rukn al-Dīn to contain his turba. It is situated in al-Akrād quarter in the Ṣālihiya of Damascus. The building is mentioned by most of the historians of the Ayyūbid period under the name of al-Madrasa al-Rukniya al-Barrāniya (outside the walls) to be distinguished from another madrasa with the same name which was built by Rukn al-Dīn for the Shāfi'ite madhhab inside Damascus<sup>1</sup> while our madrasa was built for the Ḥanafites.<sup>2</sup>

The building was founded in 621/1224 and was completed in 625/1228.<sup>3</sup> Its founder, Rukn al-Dīn Mankūfirīsh al-Falakī, died in 631/1233. He was a white slave of Falak al-Dīn, the brother of al-Malik al-'Ādil. He built al-Madrasa al-Rukniya at the foot of the Qāsyūn mountain, and he established many endowments for its maintenance and built within it a turba. When he died in Jīrūd village he was transferred to this turba.<sup>4</sup> Al-Nu'aimī<sup>5</sup> writes of the prince Mankūfirīsh al-Falakī that he was a manumitted white slave of Fakhr al-Dīn, the full brother of al-Malik al-'Ādil. He was one of the virtuous princes who talked little and gave charity plentifully.

Herzfeld concludes that the inscription does not allude to this madrasa and the remains of the building show no traces

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1. Al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 253.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 224; al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 519.

3. Al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 519.

4. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 141.

5. Al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 519.

of a madrasa. He suggests that the designation 'madrasa' is vaguely used in the chronicles instead of turba.<sup>1</sup> But while the remains of the building do not tally with the usual plan of the Syrian madrasa, they also differ from the usual type of turbas in Damascus, and most probably the building today represents only part of the original plan. One of the historians of Damascus mentions that someone took a piece from its west side.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, all the historical accounts affirm that our building was a madrasa for the Ḥanafites and a turba. Al-Nu'aimī gives in his history of the madrasas of Damascus a list of the teachers of this madrasa.<sup>3</sup>

As far as the inscription on the building is concerned, it is clear that it was written for the turba only; probably there was another inscription elsewhere giving details of the endowment of the madrasa. There is such an example at Damascus in al-Madrasa al-Qilījiya.<sup>4</sup> This inscription is engraved on a stone over the two lintels of the northern windows of the turba (Fig. 198). It reads:

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 22.

2. Badrān, op.cit., p. 171.

3. Al-Nu'aimī, I, pp. 519-520.

4. Infra, p. 178.

- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>1</sup> هذا ما اوقفه العبد الفقير الى رحمة ربه الخازن  
المجاهد  
- ركن الدين المذكور يشترك في العادلي المعظمي برسم دفنة بها وقد وقف على  
مصالحتها وزيت وشمع وحصر  
- وجامكيه وقيم ومقرئين (ما يأتي ذكره)<sup>2</sup> جميع الدار التي داخل باب الفرا  
من قبلي المدرسة الفلكيه تعرف  
- قديماً بدار (قطلوتس)<sup>3</sup> والسدس من حانوتين بالخواصين وجميع الجنيده التي  
قبلي نهر اليزيد بالصالحيه<sup>4</sup> وثلاث و نصف  
- التسع من الدار المجاوره للجنيده من غربيها والسدس من جميع ابستان ال  
بين اراضي النيرب يعرف بالواقف والسدس من البستان والجوسق والطاحون ال  
والطاحون الذي بين اراضي النيرب يعرف بالقاضي البهجه كل ذلك على ما نص  
وشرح في كتاب الوقف لا يحل لاحد يؤمن بالله العظيم تغيير ذلك ولا تبديله  
وذلك في سنة اربعة وعشرين وستمائه .

"Basmala...This is what the humble slave, he who needs the mercy of his Lord, the warrior, the fighter of the Holy War, Rukn al-Dīn Mankūrīsh<sup>5</sup> client of Falak al-Dīn, al-‘Ādilī, al-Mu‘azzamī, has founded as a waqf and to be buried in. He has established a waqf for its maintenance, for the oil, the candles, the mats, the salary of a guardian and of readers of the Koran. It is what follows: the entire house inside

1. This inscription is published in "Rep." No. 3915 and Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 21.

2. These two words are not read by Herzfeld.

3. Herzfeld has بدرمه

4. These words are not read in "Rep."

5. The name of the founder has two different forms. It is Makūfirīsh in the historical works and Mankūrīsh in the inscription.

Bāb al-Farādīs south of al-Madrassa al-Falakiya, formerly called the house of Qaṭlutmar. Furthermore a sixth of the two shops in the basket-makers' bazaar; the entire garden south of the River Yazīd at Ṣālihiya; a third and a half of the ninth of the house bordering upon the west side of the garden; a sixth of the entire garden belonging to the fields of Nairab, formerly known under the name of the founder; a sixth of the garden and mansion (Jawsaq) and mill belonging to the fields of Nairab formerly called qāḍī al-Bahja. All this under the detailed stipulations of the act of the Waqf. It is illegal for anyone who believes in Almighty God to change these after having knowledge of them for he commits a crime which will fall back on those who will imitate it. Indeed God is all-hearing and all-knowing. That was in the year 624H". (1227 A.D.).

#### The Plan (Fig. 199)

The building consists of three units, a turba, a courtyard and a prayer hall. The main entrance, which leads into the court and the other units, is in the middle of the north side of the court. In the middle of the court is a basin for ablutions as in all the madrasas and mosques of Damascus.

Exceptionally the court in this madrasa is roofed by a dome. Enough of it remains to show that it was shaped like the dome over the turba.<sup>1</sup> The part which is roofed by the dome is a square surrounded by a corridor on three sides (east,

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1. Herzfeld, 'Damascus. III,' p. 22.



west and north). It is formed by three arcades of columns and piers. This corridor is roofed by a barrel vault. To the south of the court lies an oblong prayer hall with a mihrāb in the middle of its qibla side. The prayer hall opens into the court by three doorways; the middle one is wider than the others. At the east side of the court, another doorway leads into the turba. It follows in most respects the plan of al-Turba al-Najmiya. It is square with four recesses and an opening at the middle of each recess, except the north recess which has two windows. In the middle of the tomb chamber lies the tomb of the founder with four decorative knobs on its corners, a trait common to many tombs of this period in Damascus.<sup>1</sup> The area to the south of the turba, and bounded by it and the prayer hall, was added recently to the prayer hall. The south part of the turba was converted into an entrance to lead into the additional part of the prayer hall.

### The Construction

Apparently the whole building, except the domes and vaults, is constructed of cut stone. The interior of the court was left unplastered while the other parts, namely the turba and the prayer hall, were all plastered.

The prayer hall is roofed by a barrel vault interrupted by a cross vault roofing the middle part of the hall. This is the area usually roofed by a dome in the contemporary prayer halls of northern Syria.

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1. Cf. supra, pp. 111 and 129.

The south wall of the court and the walls over the arcades form the square base of the dome. This base is crowned by the transition zone which was probably of two superposed zones, an octagonal and a sixteen-sided one. The octagonal zone is the highest part which still remains; all the other parts above it are ruined.

The squinches of this zone are constructed in almost the same manner as other Ayyūbid squinches but they differ in having been made of cut stone, and are thus very like those of Qubbat al-Amjād. The triangular corbels of the squinches are supported by tiny cells. The octagonal zone differs also from the usual appearance of Ayyūbid zones for it lacks the axial arches which usually contain windows. In fact there are no windows at all in this zone; they were probably located in the vanished upper zone.

The turba is generally regarded as a perfect example of the Damascus type.<sup>1</sup> The construction of its transition zone and the dome follows that of al-Turba al-Najmiya, being of two superposed zones with the same distribution of windows and niches. But the triangular corbels of the squinches are supported here by tiny cells (Figs. 200-202). The transition zone is terminated by the usual dentated collar on which the ribbed dome rests.

As in the turba of al-Madrassa al-Māridāniya, the exterior of the transition zone is constructed of cut stone (Figs. 203-205). The sixteen-sided zone has eight windows alternating with eight right-angled recesses, four of which are topped

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 27.

by shell-shaped semi-domes and the other four by small and smooth semi-domes (Figs. 204-205). This zone is crowned by the dome, which is composed of sixteen bold ribs constructed in the same manner as those of al-Turba al-Najmiya. The interior of the transition zone is decorated, as usual, with stucco bands framing each side of the octagonal and hexadecagonal zones. The spandrels of the eight arches in the octagonal zone are adorned with a stucco vine scroll motif (Figs. 200-201).

The north façade of the building is decorated with some panels of square Kufic inscription. One of these panels consists of the word "Muḥammad" repeated four times in the turning movements of a swastika (Figs. 198 and 206). From the existence of a similar inscription in the Khātūniya Madrasa at Karamān Herzfeld concludes that there is some connection between this building and Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup>

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 20-27.

Sauvaget, "MHD", pp. 98-100.

"Rep." No. 3915.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 275.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 92.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, pp. 135-138.

Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 258-259.

S.D.A. File No. 62.

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1. "Damascus. III", pp. 24-25.

## Section 6.

## Al-Madrasa al-‘Izziya

This madrasa stands west of the walled city on the Baradā River. It was built by Aibak, the white slave of al-Malik al-Mu‘aẓẓam, as a madrasa for the Ḥanafite madhhab. Al-Nu‘aimī says that this madrasa was founded by ‘Izz al-Dīn Aibak, who died in 645/1247, and that it is situated over the Wirāqa at the Upper Sharaf, to the north of the field of al-Qaṣr outside Damascus.<sup>1</sup> This madrasa is mentioned also by Ibn Shaddād<sup>2</sup> who writes that it was built in 626/1228 by the prince ‘Izz al-Dīn, Ustādh al-Dār (major domo) of al-Mu‘aẓẓam, who was the lord of Ṣarkhad.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Khallikān records that in 611/1214 Ṣarkhad was taken from Ibn Qarāja and was given to ‘Izz al-Dīn Aibak. He kept it until it was taken from him by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ibn Ayyūb in 644/1246. He was taken to Cairo and was put in Dār al-Ṭawāshī as a prisoner.<sup>4</sup> He died there and was buried at Cairo near the Bāb al-Naṣr, but his remains were then transferred to the turba which was over the Wirāqa<sup>5</sup> (at Damascus). There is some dispute about the date of his death. Al-Nu‘aimī<sup>6</sup> attributes it to 647/1249;

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1. Al-Nu‘aimī, I, p. 550.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 221.

3. Yāqūt, op.cit., II, p. 762.

4. Wafayāt al-A‘yān, I, p. 501.

5. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 174.

6. Al-Nu‘aimī, I, p. 550.

Ibn Kathīr<sup>1</sup> to the year 645/1247; while Ibn Khallikān, who was present at his death and prayed over his corpse, gives it as the beginning of Jumādā I, in the year 646/1248.<sup>2</sup> "In the year 654/1256 his son, the prince Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, died and was buried near his father under the dome which was near al-Wirāqa."<sup>3</sup> There is further confusion concerning the date of the building. Most of the Arab historians record that the madrasa was built in 626/1228, but the inscription over the lintel of the entrance gives the year 621/1224. It may, therefore, be assumed that the madrasa was founded in 621 and finished in 626.

The lines of the inscription are carved irregularly, but there is nothing to indicate that it has been changed from its original disposition. The inscription is engraved in a hexagon on the discharging arch with one line to the right, two lines to the left and an oblong panel on the lintel. It reads:<sup>4</sup>

The right line

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

The hexagon

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَمَا تَقْدُمُوا

The text is then completed in the lower left line

لَا نَفْسُكُمْ مِنْ خَيْرِ تَجْدُوهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ

The upper left line

وَجَعَلَ الْجَنَّةَ مِثْوَاهَ مَنْ مَالَهُ وَذَلِكَ سَنَةٌ أَحَدٌ وَعِشْرِينَ وَسِتِّمِائَةٍ

1. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 174.

2. Ibn Khallikān, I, p. 502.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 195.

4. On this inscription see Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 56; "Rep." No. 3914.

In the oblong panel over the lintel, there are four lines reading:

- وقف هذه المدرسه المباركه وأبدها وحسبها الامير الكبير الغازي  
- المجاهد ابو الفضائل عز الدين ايبك المعظمي تغمده الله برحمته  
- على الفقهاء والمتفقه من اصحاب الامام الاعظم سراج الامه  
- ابي حنيفه رضي الله عنه وعلى القراء والمحدثين والمسمعين تقبل الله منه

The upper left line belongs at the end of this inscription and it is read so in the "Répertoire".

"Basmala...Koran II,110. The great prince, the warrior, the fighter of the Holy War, Abū 'l-Faḍā'il 'Izz al-Dīn Aibak al-Mu'azzamī, may God cover him with his mercy, has endowed this blessed madrasa, perpetuated and devoted it for the jurists and students, the followers of the greatest Imām, the lamp of the nation Abū Ḥanīfa, may God bless him, and for the readers,<sup>1</sup> the traditionists and the hearers,<sup>2</sup> may God accept it from him".

### The Plan

The turba and the entrance are the only remaining units of the madrasa. There is no other evidence that gives a clear idea about its original plan. The turba stands at the south-east corner of the present enclosure, but this, certainly, does not represent all the land that belonged to the madrasa; it may be at least 10m. wider to the east. The land was wider by about 10m. to the north before the building of the street in 1939 which passed its north side. The entrance was thereupon demolished and reconstructed further back (Fig.207).<sup>3</sup>

1. I.e. readers of the Koran.

2. I.e. hearers of the Ḥadīth.

3. S.D.A. File No. 25; Sauvaget, "MAD", Fig. 65.

The turba was not isolated from the other units of the madrasa. The absence of any cornice to crown it on its north and east sides indicates that it was linked to other units on these two sides. On the south the remains of a wall suggest that there was once the usual prayer hall on this side, aligned towards the qibla.

The weakness of the south wall of the prayer hall probably implies that it was roofed by a flat ceiling. The existence of the abutment and the springing of an arch on the north façade of the turba indicates that a portico adjoined this façade and ran along the west side of the yard (Fig. 208).

The plan of the turba follows in some respects that of al-Turba al-Najmiya. It is square with four wide recesses and an opening at the middle of each side, except the south one which has two openings. The north opening is the entrance while the others are windows. There is only one stone tomb at the centre of the turba.

### The Construction

The madrasa was erected on a steep slope of land, so that the architect had to construct the south side and a part of the west side in such a way as to comply with this awkward site; therefore the first six courses of stone at the bottom of these two sides were built obliquely (Fig. 209). Like all Ayyūbid monuments, this madrasa was built mainly of cut stone. Brick is used in the transition zone and in the dome of the turba. The windows are constructed externally according to the same method as in al-Turba al-‘Imādiya (Fig. 210).

The interior of the square base and of the transition zone



follows to a certain extent the construction of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Figs. 211-213). It has two superposed zones, an octagonal and a sixteen-sided one, having the same distribution of windows and niches as in al-Turba al-Najmiya. The triangular corbels of the squinches are supported by tiny cells (Fig. 212). The second zone is crowned with a smooth dome. All the interior of the turba is plastered. It is decorated with bands of stucco forming the main architectural elements, the arches of the recesses, the four sides of the square base and the sides of the octagonal and sixteen-sided zones (Fig. 211). The spandrels of the octagonal zone are adorned by the type of vine scroll usual in this period (Figs. 211-212). In addition to this, the south side of the square base is decorated with a roundel ornament. This is a circular medallion in stucco filled with interlacing scrolls, flowers and leaves distributed around a six-pointed star. The medallion is surrounded with scroll work comprising three-lobed flowers (Fig. 214). It is set on the south side, probably to indicate the qibla.<sup>1</sup> An identical medallion adorns the western side of the vault of the great īwān of al-Bīmāristān al-Qaimarī in the Ṣāliḥiya dated to 656/1258.<sup>2</sup>

The exterior of the transition zone reflects the interior construction (Figs. 209-210 and 213). The upper part of the dome has been covered with a coating of bright red, while in its lower part it has a wide band of floral work of the same colour against a wide white background.<sup>3</sup>

1. Sauvaget, "MAD", p. 70.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 31, Fig. 55.

3. Sauvaget, "MAD", p. 70.

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Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 55-56.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 64.

Idem, "MAD", pp. 65-73.

Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 269-270.

"Rep.", No. 3914.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 94.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 277.

S.D.A. File No. 25.

## Section 7.

## Jāmi' al-Tawba

Jāmi' al-Tawba is situated in the 'Uqabiya quarter (east of Sūq Sārūja). Al-Nu'aimī mentions it as a great mosque outside Bāb al-Farādīs.<sup>1</sup> According to Ibn Shaddād, who gives the story of its foundation, it was built by al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, in 632/1234. It had been known under the name of Khān al-Zinjārī because it had sheltered people of bad morals and culpable behaviour.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khallikān gives substantially the same account, adding that its sinful former occupants were singers and the like.<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions of the building give three different dates. The inscription which still exists on the lintel of the eastern entrance reads: (Fig. 215)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم 4 (Koran , IX, 18 ) انشأ هذا الجامع المبارك  
المولى السلطان الملك الاشرف ابو الفتح موسى بن الملك العادل ابي بكر  
بن ايوب تغمدهما الله برحمته وذلك في سنة اثنين وثلثين وستمائه وتم  
عمارتها وجددها خطيبه الناظر في امره العبد الفقير يحيى بن عبد العزيز  
بن عبد السلام اشابه الله الجنة واوقف عليه جميع الحوانيت الملاصقة لجدار  
الشرقي وهي اربع عشر حانوتاً وعضاده مجاوره لمنارته من الشمال وحانوتين  
وعضاده تحت الحجره المنشأة لسكن الخطيب وخمسة حوانيت وعماره سادسه شم  
المسجد المحاني لهذا الباب وطباقهن ثلاث حجر انشاء الخطيب وخزانة في  
مجازهن وفندق غربي دار البطيخ تحت القلعة كتب سنة تسع واربعين وستمائه  
والحمد لله وحده وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه

1. Al-Nu'aimī, II, p. 426.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 87.

3. Ibn Khallikān, II, p. 140.

4. Cf. Herzfeld, "Damascus. IV", p. 124; "Rep." No. 4332.

"Basmala...Koran IX,18 . Our Lord, the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā, the son of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr Ibn Ayyūb, may God cover them with his mercy, has founded this blessed Jāmi' in 632.<sup>1</sup> The completion and renovation of this building has been accomplished by its inspector and preacher Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, may God grant him peace in heaven. He endowed it with all the shops which lie at its east wall. There are 14 shops, a property to the north of its minaret, two shops and a property under the cell which was built as a living room for the preacher, five shops and a sixth building to the left of the mosque opposite this door, and on its upper floor, there are three rooms built by the preacher, and a storeroom leading onto their vestibule, and a hotel to the east of Dār al-Baṭṭikh near the castle. This was written in the year 649 " (1251 A.D.). The Repertoire and Sauvaire<sup>2</sup> mention another inscription, but this no longer exists. It had the name of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, was dated 629/1231 and gave a different account of the waqf. It also named a different inspector, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣalāḥ al-Nāṣirī al-Kurdī al-Shahrazūrī, who was called Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ Taqī al-Dīn and who died in 643<sup>3</sup>/1245. However, there are points for and against the accuracy of this copy.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 1234 A.D.

2. "Rep." No. 4039; Sauvaire, op.cit., IX, (1896), p. 273.

3. Ibn Khallikān, I, p. 394.

4. Herzfeld, "Damascus. IV", p. 124.

### Plan and Construction

The building is especially interesting for its plan, (Fig. 216), which is similar to that of the mosques of the Umayyads.<sup>1</sup> The prayer hall opens onto the courtyard through nine bays and the courtyard is surrounded with a portico on three of its sides, the north, east and west. The prayer hall is a large rectangle with two longitudinal naves divided by one arcade of 13 arches supported on square and octagonal piers. It is interrupted by a transept on the north-south axis. The mihrāb, with its original columns and stucco decoration, is in the middle of the south side, and there is another mihrāb in the west wing of the mosque. The mosque has two entrances: one of them is in the middle of the north wall and the other is in the west wall, topped by a semi-dome constructed with cells. The square bay in front of the mihrāb is roofed by a dome, like most of the early mosques of Syria and North Africa (Fig. 217).

Most of the present mosque, including the whole plan, is original. Only a few restorations have been executed from time to time and these have not changed its original form.

The transept divides the prayer hall into two equal parts and is roofed by a flat wooden ceiling supported on an arcade. There are six arches in each part carried on square and octagonal piers; these are so arranged that two octagonal piers alternate with a square one. The transept is divided into two square parts. The south part in front of the mihrāb is crowned by a dome, while the north part is topped by a

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1. Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 64.

gable roof.

The square base of the dome is formed by three arches and the south wall of the mosque. The transition zone of the dome closely follows that of al-Turba al-Najmiya, but the octagonal corbels are supported here by tiny cells (Figs. 218-220).

The exterior of the transition zone has the usual Ayyūbid arrangement of a hexadecagonal zone over an octagonal one; but the frequent plasterings have rather changed its appearance (Fig. 221).

The sixteen-sided zone follows architecturally that of al-Turba al-Najmiya. It contains eight windows alternating with eight niches. Four of them are right-angled recesses topped by semi-circular arches. Each of the other four consists of a small concave recess topped with a semi-dome, and the whole recess is placed within another recess surmounted by twin arches sharing a suspended abutment (Fig. 221).<sup>1</sup> An unribbed dome crowns the whole complex. Like the transition zone, it has been badly plastered quite recently.

The bay of the eastern entrance to the mosque is roofed by a semi-dome constructed of mugarnases. It is of three courses of mugarnases; the topmost one forms a star-like base of ten points to support a ribbed semi-dome (Fig. 222).

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1. Cf. al-Turba al-Salāmiya and al-Turba al-Najmiya (supra, pp. 65 and 41).

## Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. IV", pp. 123-125.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 64.

Sauvaire, op.cit., IX (1896), pp. 279-280.

"Rep." Nos. 4332 and 4039.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", pp. 279-280.

S.D.A. File No. 26.



## Section 8.

## Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya

Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya is situated on the main street in the Ṣāliḥiya of Damascus just to the east of al-Madrasa al-Murshidiya.<sup>1</sup> Al-Nuʿaimī writes of this building: "Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya al-Maqdisiya is situated on the slope of the Qāsyūn mountain on the bank of the River Yazīd opposite the turba of Taqī al-Dīn Tawba Ibn ʿAlī al-Takrītī, to the east of al-Madrasa al-Murshidiya of the Ḥanafites and to the west of al-Madrasa al-Atābikiya of the Shāfiʿites. It is an achievement of Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn the son of al-ʿĀdil".<sup>2</sup> It was built for the Ḥanbalite madhhab and was used for the same purpose until the Xth/XVI century. Al-Nuʿaimī gives a list of its teachers up to his own time.<sup>3</sup> The usual Ayyūbid identifying inscription is engraved on the lintel of the entrance, and consists of four lines (Fig. 223). It reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>4</sup> وقف هذه المدرسة المباركة ابتغاء وجه الله  
تعالى المولى  
السلطان الملك العادل المظفر المؤيد<sup>5</sup> المنصور الملك الاشرف مظفر الدين  
ابو الفتح موسى بن المولى

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1. Infra, p. 173 .

2. Al-Nuʿaimī, I, p. 47.

3. Ibid., loc.cit.

4. On this inscription see "Rep." No. 4117 and Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 58.

5. "Rep." has المرابط

السلطان الملك العادل سيف الدين ابي بكر بن ايوب ثقل الله منه وأثابه  
 الجنة على الحنابلة المقلدين<sup>1</sup> ووقف عليها  
 نصف دير ارعى بالبقاع العزيزي وربيعها<sup>2</sup> ومزارعها في سنة اربع وثلاثين  
 وستمائه وصلى الله على محمد  
 لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله<sup>5</sup>

"Basmala...The lord, the Sultān, the erudite, the just, the triumphant, the favourite of God, the victorious, al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā, the son of the lord, the Sultān, al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn Ayyūb, has founded this blessed madrasa for God, for the Ḥanbalite traditionists may God accept it from him, and grant him peace in heaven. He has given as waqf to it the half of Dair Ar'ā in the Biqā' al-'Azīzī, its produce and its farms, in the year 634.<sup>4</sup> May the blessing of God be on Muḥammad. There is no god but God; Muḥammad is the messenger of God".

There were two madrasas for teaching al-Ḥadīth, each bearing the name Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya and founded by al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā. One of them, inside the city, was founded by al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā for the Shaikh 'Uthmān Ibn

1. Herzfeld has "الموافين" "the visitors"; Sauvaire has الواردين which also means the visitors (op.cit. I (1894), p. 294, n.25); Badrān has "المحدثين" "the readers of al-Ḥadīth" (op.cit., p. 33); "Rep." leaves it unread. It reads in fact "المقلدين" "the traditionists".
2. Herzfeld has "ربعها" "its quarter" while it is, in fact, ربيعها, "its produce".
3. This line is divided on the two sides of the panel.
4. A.D. 1236.

al-Ṣalāḥ.<sup>1</sup> Our madrasa was founded for the Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allah Ibn Surūr al-Maqdisī, who died before the madrasa was completed.<sup>2</sup>

The building has a turba, but this was not built for the founder of the madrasa, who died in 635/1237 and was buried in his turba in the Kallāsa, to the north of the Umayyad Mosque.<sup>3</sup> Most probably the turba of the madrasa contains the tomb of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Maqdisī to whom the madrasa was attributed and after whom it was known as al-Maqdisiya.

#### Plan and Construction (Fig. 224)

The remains of the building consist of three units laid beside each other on an east-west axis; an entrance with a small vestibule to the west, a prayer hall with a mihrāb in the middle, and a turba to the east. The entrance is aligned with the street and with the neighbouring building, al-Madrasa al-Murshidiya. The prayer hall and the turba are orientated to face the qibla (Fig. 224).

The vestibule has a trapezoid form with an opening on its east side leading to the prayer hall which is a rather large rectangle. There is a pair of windows on the north side of the prayer hall; one of them is used nowadays as an entrance, while the original entrance is blocked up. In the middle of its east side there is a walled-up doorway which used to be the only entrance into the turba. In the middle

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1. Ibn Khallikān, I, p. 394; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 147.

2. Al-Nu‘aimī, I, p. 47.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 147.

of the south side there is a concave mihrāb without an inscription or any other decoration. The square plan and four recesses of the turba resemble those of al-Najmiya, but it differs in the distribution of its openings. It has only two windows on its north side; one of them is blocked up while the other is at present used as an entrance.

There is nothing to suggest that the original madrasa had more than these three units. It therefore seems that this madrasa had no īwān or court. Other madrasas of al-Hadīth show the same plan as the madrasas of al-Fiqh.

The exterior surfaces of the walls are covered with cut stone while in the interior the stone is merely roughly shaped. This applies to the construction of the square base of the turba and the lower part of the north wall of the prayer hall and the entrance. Other parts are made of baked brick.

The openings of the north façade of the building are constructed according to the method used in al-Turba al-‘Imādiya. A panel was prepared to receive an inscription, but the inscription was never engraved (Fig. 225). Apart from the lower part of the north wall and the east wall, the prayer hall is built of baked brick. These walls are too thin to support any kind of vaulting. Most probably this hall was roofed by a flat ceiling.

The construction of the turba does not differ greatly from that of al-Turba al-Najmiya. The transition zone is of two stages, an octagonal zone followed by a hexadecagonal one, with the same arrangement of windows and niches as in

al-Turba al-Najmiya, except that the triangular corbels of the squinches are supported here by tiny cells (Figs. 226-228). The upper part of the sixteen-sided zone is ruined and it is impossible to suggest the form of the base of the dome and to decide whether the dome was smooth or ribbed.

As in the other domes of this style, the exterior corresponds to the interior construction (Figs. 225 and 229). The right-angled niches of the second zone are crowned by shell-shaped semi-domes of five sectors.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 58.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, p. 123.

"Rep." No. 4117.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit. VI, p. 73.

S.D.A. File No. 114.

Sauvaire, op.cit., I (1894), pp. 273-274.

## Section 9.

## Al-Turba al-Ḥāfiẓiyya

or

## "Sittī Ḥafīẓa"

Al-Turba al-Ḥāfiẓiyya with the mosque adjacent to it is situated in Rukn al-Dīn Street about 100m. to the south of Turbat al-Badrī. The building consists of a turba of a single domed chamber, and a mosque connected to it on the south and the east.

The historical accounts assert that the turba and the mosque were founded by Arghūn al-Ḥāfiẓiyya who died in 648<sup>1</sup>/1250, whereas the architectural evidence indicates that the building had two periods of construction, the turba being founded first, then the mosque added to it later. This caused the south window of the turba to be blocked by the passage of the entrance to the mosque.

There is no inscription on the building but the wooden cenotaph which was in the turba and was transferred to the National Museum of Damascus<sup>2</sup> bears the date 648/1250. The inscription consists of two bands. One of them, which surrounds the upper edge of the wooden cenotaph, is Koranic (II, 255), and the other one, which surrounds the lower edge of the cenotaph, consists of the following text:<sup>3</sup>

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1. Al-Nuʿaimī, II, p. 242; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 180.

2. S. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Haqq, ʿKunūz Mathāf Dimashq al-Waṭanī (Damascus, 1959), p. 42, pl. 62.

3. On this inscription see "Rep." No. 4323; Kurd ʿAlī, op.cit., VI, p. 182.

هذا ضريح الست الجليله الكبيره المعظمه الملكه فخر الخواتين عصمة الدنيا  
والدين بختي خاتون ابنة السلطان الملك المعظم معز الدين قيصر شاه ابن السلطان  
السعيد الشهيد ملك ملوك الروم والارمن قلیج ارسلان قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه  
وذلك في مستهل شهر ربيع الاول سنة ثمان واربعين وستمائه .

"This is the tomb of the respected lady, the great, the queen,  
the honour of the Khātūns, 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Bukhtī  
Khātūn, the daughter of the Sulṭān al-Malik Mu'izz al-Dīn  
Qaiṣar Shāh, the son of the blessed Sulṭān, the martyr, king  
of the kings of Rūm and the Armenians, Qilīj Arslān, may God  
sanctify his soul and illuminate his tomb. That was in the  
beginning of Rabī' I, 648" (June 1250 A.D.).

On the evidence of this inscription, it is clear that  
the cenotaph is not that of the founder of the turba (who is  
mentioned in the historical accounts) but of the daughter of  
Qaiṣar Shāh who was the son of Qilīj Arslān, the ruler of  
Asia Minor and Armenia. She seems to have been buried in the  
turba beside the founder.

Ibn Kathīr mentions the founder of the turba and the  
mosque among those who died in 648/1250, saying: "Arghūn  
al-Ḥāfiẓiyya; she was called al-Ḥāfiẓiyya for serving and  
bringing up al-Ḥāfiẓ, the governor of Qal'at Ja'bar<sup>1</sup> on the  
Euphrates near Raqqa. She was a wise and thrifty lady. She  
bought the garden of al-Najīb Yāqūt who was a slave of Tāj  
al-Dīn al-Kindī and founded on it a turba and a mosque, and  
she endowed them with many waqfs".<sup>2</sup> Al-Nu'aimī states that

1. On Qal'at Ja'bar see Yāqūt, op.cit., IV, p.164.

2. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 180.



al-Turba al-Ḥāfiẓiyya and the mosque are to the south of Kuḥail Bridge and to the north of al-Turba al-Qaimariyya.<sup>1</sup> It was a garden belonging to al-Najīb Yāqūt, a slave of Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī bought by Arghūn al-Ḥāfiẓiyya, freedwoman of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. Her surname refers to al-Malik al-Ḥafīẓ, the lord of Qalʿat Jaʿbar, whom she had brought up.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Plan (Fig. 230)

As is mentioned above, the remains of the building show two periods of construction and a repair of its north-east wall. The turba came first and then the mosque, but both belong to the same epoch.<sup>3</sup> The plan of the turba is typically Ayyūbid, being square with four recesses. There is a window at the middle of both the east and west recesses, and a right-angled niche of the same width as the windows at the middle of the north recess. The south recess contains two openings. One of them was originally a window, but it was walled up when the mosque was added. The other opening is the entrance. The mosque follows in principle, but on a very small scale and in reduced details, the cruciform plan;<sup>4</sup> a prayer hall occupies the south side and each of the other three sides are occupied by a bay, replacing the īwān of the madrasa. There was a basin in the middle of the central court which was vaulted as in al-Madrasa al-Rukniyya.

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1. This is another Turba al-Qaimariyya from that which is dealt with in Ch. II, p. 101.

2. Al-Nuʿaimī, II, p. 242.

3. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 64.

4. Ibid.

The mosque has a bent entrance. A bay opens into the street leading from a square chamber by means of a doorway whose axis forms a right angle with the axis of the entrance bay. This last chamber leads again into another passage opening into the central court.

### The Construction

The roofs and the upper parts of the mosque have collapsed, leaving walls varying between 5.00m. and 0.5m. high, and the building is at present being restored by the S.D.A.

According to the plan drawn up by the S.D.A. (Fig. 230), the prayer hall was roofed with a cross vault flanked by two lateral barrel vaults,<sup>1</sup> and the central court was also covered with a cross vault. This court is flanked from the north, east and west by barrel vaults roofing the īwāns or the īwān-shaped bays.

The entrance with its bent passage is considerably more intact. It is roofed with a domical vault resting on a row of mugarnas-shaped panels, and decorated with a large scallop in the back of the bay with ribs stretching over the whole vault to form a lobed arch at the front (Fig. 231).

The whole of the building, the turba and the mosque, is constructed of cut stone in both the exterior and the interior, except the dome of the turba which is of baked brick (Fig. 232). The stone of the exterior of the square base and the transition zone is more carefully cut than that of the interior (Figs. 232-233). The interior of the transition zone

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1. Cf. al-Madrassa al-Rukniya, supra, p. 145 .

of this dome has a design unique among Damascus turbas. The transition zone has one stage, octagonal at the base, the sixteen-sided superstructure being achieved within the height of the octagonal stage by means of eight small pendentives on its angles (Figs. 233-235). Basically, the octagonal stage is typically Ayyūbid in its eight arches in which squinches and small double windows alternate. The exterior of the transition zone is equally typical of the Ayyūbid style. This zone is crowned by a smooth dome, a section of which is a pointed stilted arch (Fig. 232 and 235).

The turba has been restored by the S.D.A. and the dome and its transition zone have been replastered on both the exterior and the interior (Figs. 234 and 236). It is worth mentioning that the square base, the octagonal and sixteen-sided zones are each separated from the other by means of a layer of stone slabs.

#### Bibliography

- Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 33-64.  
 Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 103.  
 "Rep." No. 4323.  
 Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 286.  
 Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, pp. 140-142.  
 Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 186.  
 S.D.A. File No. 99.  
 S. 'A. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, 'Kunūz Mathaf Dimashq al-Waṭanī,' (Damascus, 1959), p. 42, and pl. 62.  
 Sauvaire, op.cit., VII (1895), pp. 235-236.

## Section 10.

## Al-Madrasa al-Murshidiya

or

"The Madrasa of Khadīja Khātūn"

Al-Madrasa al-Murshidiya was a Ḥanafite madrasa situated on the River Yazīd in the Ṣālihiya of Damascus between Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya and al-Turba al-Farantiya. It was founded by Khadīja Khātūn. Ibn Shuhba gives her full name as Khadīja Khātūn, the daughter of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Ibn al-‘Adil, and the full sister of al-Nāṣir Dā‘ūd.<sup>1</sup> She was probably the daughter of ‘Azīza, foundress of al-Madrasa al-Maridāniya.<sup>2</sup>

According to an inscription on the lintel of the entrance, this madrasa was built in 650/1252, but according to the historical accounts<sup>3</sup> it was built in 654/1256.

There is some confusion as to the date of the founder's death. Ibn Shuhba<sup>4</sup> gives the year 660/1262 while other historians<sup>5</sup> say that she was married by proxy to the Khawārizimshāh. She died in the garden of the Māridāniya on Jumādā II, 650/1252 and was buried in the turba she had founded near that of Shaikh ‘Alī al-Farantī on the mountain (Qāsyūn).

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1. Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 278-279.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 65.

3. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus" p. 228; al-Nu‘aimī, I, p. 576; Ibn Shuhba, (apud Sauvaire, op.cit., loc.cit.); and Kurd ‘Alī (op.cit., VI, p. 76) write that the madrasa was built in 656/1258.

4. Quoted by al-Nu‘aimī, I, p. 570.

5. Sauvaire, op.cit., loc.cit.

There is no apparent reason for the name 'Murshidiya' being given to this madrasa. According to Herzfeld, 'Alī al-Faranthī with his followers (murīdīn) was a murshid - one who has the right to initiate novices into the order.<sup>1</sup> Thus his turba has more claim to be called al-Murshidiya than has that of Khadīja Khātūn; or else Khadīja Khātūn herself may have entered a ṣūfī order.<sup>2</sup>

There is a 4-line inscription on the lintel of the entrance to the building engraved in an oblong panel measuring

162 x 41cm. It reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم<sup>3</sup> هذا ما اوقفت الست الجليله عصمت الدين خديجه  
خاتون ابنت (sic) السلطان الملك المعظم شرف الدين عيسى بن السلطان  
الملك الناصر سيف الدين  
ابو بكر وذلك حصه من حمام الك[ال]س<sup>4</sup> خمسة اسهم وثلاثي سهم وخمسة وسبع سهم  
من طاحون الطرب الخمس ودار بجيل الصالحيه وحصه بقرية<sup>5</sup> تقي الدين  
سبعة اسهم ونصف سهم وربع سهم وثمان سهم وثلاث عشر سهم وحصه بقرية الطزه  
ثلاثا سهم وثلاث سبع سهم وحصه بخان عاتكه ثمان اسهم ونصف حصه  
بجبة عسال من قصر معلولا ثلاث اسهم ومن الجبه سهم ونصف ومن القرنابيه  
سبعة اسهم وبستان الماريدانيه بكماله وذلك في شهر ذي (sic) سنة خمسين  
وستمائه رحم الله واقفت (sic) هذا المكان .

1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 57.

2. Ibid., III, p. 65.

3. On this inscription see "Rep." No. 4350; Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 64.

4. "Rep." has الكليب while it is most probably الكأس Hammām al-Kās (the bath of al-Kās) was to the north of al-Madrasa al-Badrā'īya (see Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 206; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, p. 315).

5. Herzfeld has بقصر while it is in fact بقرية

"Basmala...This is what the sublime lady 'Iṣmat al-Dīn Khadīja Khātūn, the daughter of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā, the son of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn Ayyūb, has founded as a waqf, namely, a portion of the bath of al-Kās; five portions, two thirds, one fifth and one seventh portion of the Ṭarab mill; one fifth and a house in the mountain of al-Ṣāliḥiya; a portion of Taqī al-Dīn village, seven portions, a half, a quarter, one eighth and one third of one tenth portion and a part of the village of al-Ṭazza; two thirds, one third, one seventh portions and a part of Khān 'Ātika; eight portions and half a portion of Jubbat 'Assāl; from Qaṣr Ma'lūlā, three portions; and from al-Jubba, a portion and a half; and from the Qarnābiya seven portions; and the totality of the garden of al-Māridāniya. That is in Dhū [al-Qa'da or al-Hijja] 650.<sup>1</sup> May the mercy of God be on the founder of this place."

#### The Plan (Fig. 237)

Rather like Dar al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya, this building consists of three units: a vestibule, a prayer hall and a turba. There is no īwān, not even an open courtyard. The vestibule is laid out parallel to the street outside, while both the prayer hall and the tomb chamber are orientated obliquely to face the gibla. This plan caused the north wall to be irregular and was achieved by making deep recesses in the north sides of the prayer hall and the turba. The

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1. Jan-Feb. 1253.

vestibule leads into the prayer hall by an opening on its west side; another door leads into an open area.<sup>1</sup> The prayer hall is oblong with a concave mihrāb in the middle of its south side flanked by two windows. There are two other windows on the north side in an oblique recess. Towards the south end of the west side there is an entrance leading into the turba. The plan of the turba differs from the typical Ayyūbid plan in its lack of recesses and symmetrical openings (Fig. 238). There is an irregular recess on the north side containing two windows and on the west side there is a walled-up opening. It was probably a window. The east side has two doorways; the north one connects the prayer hall with the turba, while the south one leads into the open area. In the middle of the south side there is a flat mihrāb (Fig. 239). It has no inscription but is decorated with stucco frames forming flat arched panels surrounded by ribbed borders.

### The Construction

The building displays the usual Ayyūbid combination of carefully cut stone on the exterior, roughly shaped stone in the interior, and baked brick in the vaults, the dome and the transition zone (Fig. 240). The north façade is crowned with cyma recta cornice. Other contemporary buildings in Damascus have either cavetto mouldings or bevelled cornices.

The interior of the building is covered with a coating made of a mixture of shredded flax and brown gypsum. The prayer hall still has its original groin vault. The dome of

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1. This building is occupied nowadays by a children's nursery.



the turba is ruined, but its transition zone still survives. Architecturally it follows the transition zone of al-Turba al-Najmiya (Figs. 241-243). It is of two zones, octagonal and hexadecagonal, with the same distribution of windows and niches. The exterior of the transition zone has been plastered at an indeterminate date.

The ruinous state of the turba allows one to observe the layers of stone slabs separating the square base, the octagonal zone and the hexadecagonal drum from each other.<sup>1</sup> The exterior of the transition reflects the nature of the interior (Figs. 244, 245). Some of the right-angled niches of the sixteen-sided zone are crowned by smooth semi-domes; others are crowned by shell-shaped semi-domes (Figs. 240 and 244). The absence of a dentated circular base indicates that the dome was not ribbed.

The extra thick mass which is at the north-east corner of the turba is used as the base for the minaret which is the only minaret of the XIIth century in Damascus<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 240).

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 64-65.

"Rep." No. 4350.

Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 103.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, p. 120.

Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 278-79.

Munajjid, "Abniyat", p. 287.

S.D.A. File No. 100.

1. Cf. Al-Turba al-'Imādiya, Turbat Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Turbat Raiḥān, Turbat Ibn Timīrak, and Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya.

2. Sauvaget, "MHD", p. 103.

## Section 11.

## Al-Madrasa al-Qilījiya

This madrasa stands about 150m. from the Umayyad mosque, just behind the famous museum of Qaṣr al-‘Azim. Ibn Shaddād states that the prince Saif al-Dīn ‘Alī Ibn Qilīj al-Nūrī left money in his will for the foundation of this madrasa. He appointed as executor of his will Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibn Sanī al-Dawla,<sup>1</sup> who carried out his wishes after his death in 645<sup>2</sup>/1247.

According to the inscription over the entrance the building was finished in 651/1253. Ibn Kathīr, who lived during the following century, gives a different date for the death of the founder, saying that Saif al-Dīn ‘Alī Ibn Qilīj died in 643/1245 and was buried in his turba at his madrasa.<sup>3</sup> Al-Nu‘aimī describes this madrasa as standing between the two gates of the city, al-Sharqī and Tūmā, to the west of al-Madrasa al-Mismāriya, and with the turba of the founder lying to the west of the mihrāb<sup>4</sup> of the madrasa.<sup>5</sup> According to the inscription over the lintel of the main entrance, the madrasa was for al-Ḥadīth and it was intended for the Ḥanafite madhhab.

Like other ancient buildings in Damascus, it suffered from the fire that took place during the Tīmūrid conquest in

1. He died in 658/1260 at Ba‘albak; for his biography see Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 224.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Damascus", p. 207.

3. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, p. 171.

4. The mihrāb means here the prayer hall.

5. Al-Nu‘aimī, I, p. 436.

803/1400. It was then cleaned and taken over as a lodging house for the poor.<sup>1</sup> Al-'Almawī gives details of other restorations in 924/1518 and 970/1562.<sup>2</sup>

Nowadays, the madrasa bears two inscriptions - one of them engraved on the lintels of the two windows in the south façade of the turba. It contains the honorifics of the founder and three verses of poetry. The inscription on the east lintel reads: (Fig. 246).

قال الامير الكبير المجاهد المرباط الاسفہسار السعيد الشهيد سيف الدين  
ابو الحسن قليج ابن عبد الله رحمه الله تعالى هذه الايات واوصى ان  
تكتب على تربته بعد وفاته .

The text is then continued on the west lintel (Fig. 247):

هذه دارنا الذي نحن فيها      دار حق وما سواها يزول  
فاغتنم ما استطعت دارا اليها      عن قليل يغضي بك التحويل  
واعتمد صالحا يؤانسك فيها      مثلما يؤنس الخليل الخليل

"The great prince, the fighter of the Holy War, the warrior, the blessed Isfahsalār, the martyr Saif al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan Qilīj Ibn 'Abd Allah, may God have mercy upon him, said the following verses and willed them to be written on his tomb after his death. This house is ours, in which we are; it is a true house, and all outside it will die. Build then, as far as it is possible for you, a house, to which you will be transferred before long. And practise good deeds which

1. Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 88.

2. Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), p. 277.

will keep you company in it as a friend keeps company with his friend".

The other inscription is engraved on the lintel of the main entrance but its central part has been hidden by a recently added wall. It is written within a rectangular panel 2.40m. by 0.64m. It reads:

Koran , IX , 18

1 - بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

- أمر بعمارة هذه المدرسة المباركة ( ووقفها )<sup>2</sup> الامير الكبير السعيد

الاسنيسلار المجاهد الغازي سيف الدين ابو الحسن

- علي ابن قليج<sup>3</sup> الملكي الناصري قدس الله روحه على الفقهاء و (المتفقهة في

العلم على مذهب الامام سراج الامة ابي حنيفة النعمان

- رضي الله عنه وعلى المشتغلين<sup>5</sup> بالحديث النبوي (على صاحبه افضل الصلاة

والسلام وعلى من يقرأ القرآن العظيم على ضريح الواقف )<sup>6</sup>

- ومصالح<sup>7</sup> التربة المدفون بها عليهما يراه الناظر سيدنا ومولانا (قاضي

القضاة صدر الدين حجة الاسلام)<sup>8</sup>

- شيخ المذاهب<sup>9</sup> رئيس الاصحاب سيّد العلماء والحكام ابي العباس<sup>10</sup> مولانا

قاضي القضاة (مفتي)<sup>11</sup> الفرق وثقة<sup>12</sup> المسلمين

- شمس الدين شيخ المذاهب ابي المكارم .....

1. Published in "Rep." No. 4380; Herzfeld "Damascus. III", p.3.

2. This word is not read by Herzfeld.

3. Herzfeld has قليج while it is, in fact, قليج

4. These two words are not read by Herzfeld.

5. "Rep." has المستعلمين

6. The words between the brackets are not read by Herzfeld.

7. Herzfeld has ومسالح

8. These words are not read by Herzfeld.

9. "Rep." has المذهب

10. Herzfeld has ابي العنابيه

11. This word is missing in Herzfeld's reading.

12. "Rep." has بتيقة السلف

- يحيى بن حبة الله بن الحسن الشافعي خالصة امير المؤمنين (أدام الله أيامه) 1.... وكان الفراغ منها في شهر سنة احدى وجمسين  
- وستمائه رحمه الله ورحم امه محمد .

"Basmala...The great prince, the blessed, the Isfahsalār, the fighter of the Holy War, the warrior, Saif al-Dīn Abū 'l Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Qilīj al-Malakī, al-Nāṣirī, may God sanctify his soul, ordered this blessed madrasa to be built and he endowed it for the jurists and the students of science of the madhhab of the imām, the light of the nation Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān, may God be gracious to him, for the workers on ḥadīth - may best blessing and peace be upon its owner, and to those who read the great Koran around the tomb of the founder - and for the maintenance of the turba in which he is buried. That is according to the direction of the inspector our lord Qāḍī al-Quḍāt, Ṣadr al-Dīn, the authority of Islām, the shaikh of the madhhabs, the head of the religious groups, companions, the master of the scholars and the governors, Abū 'l-'Abbās, our lord Qāḍī al-Quḍāt, the muftī<sup>2</sup> of the parties and the trusted one of the Muslims, Shams al-Dīn, the shaikh of the madhhabs Abū 'l-Makārim Yaḥyā Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn al-Ḥasan the Shāfi'ite, the loyal servant of the Commander of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his days. It was completed during the months of 651,<sup>3</sup> may the mercy of God be upon him and upon the nation of Muḥammad."

1. The words between the brackets are not read by Herzfeld.

2. Muftī means casuist.

3. A.D. 1253.

### The Plan (Fig. 248)

The original plan of the madrasa has been lost but some of its units were in fairly good condition when it was drawn by Wulzinger and Watzinger<sup>1</sup> and later by Herzfeld.<sup>2</sup>

There are only three original units belonging to the period of foundation: the entrance and its vestibule, the turba, and the south side of the prayer hall. Scarcely any trace of the restoration carried out in <sup>the</sup> Xth/XVth century remains.<sup>3</sup>

The entrance bay is a full square leading into the vestibule. Nowadays the entrance unit is divided in two by a rough partition wall and both parts of it have been incorporated into dwelling houses.

The prayer hall lies to the east of the turba. According to the plan drawn by Herzfeld, it was rectangular with an oblong mihrāb in the middle of its south side. The prayer hall opened into the courtyard through three bays formed by two columns. The plan of the turba follows the typical Ayyūbid plan. It is square with four recesses, with an opening in the middle of each recess except the south recess, which has two windows. The north opening is replaced by a rectangular niche.

### The Construction

The south façade of the madrasa (Fig. 249) and all the external façades of the turba are built of smoothly cut stone.

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1. Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, Fig. 12, pp. 73-75.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 4.

3. Ibid., III, p. 3.

4. The usual form of contemporary entrance bays is oblong; the ratio of width to length is mostly 2:3.

All the windows of the south façade agree in their construction closely with those of al-Turba al-Qaimariya (Fig. 250 and 246-7),<sup>1</sup> but the second arch here is flat instead of being a segmental one.

The portal of this building is one of three examples in Damascus with suspended key-stone arches.<sup>2</sup> From the architectural point of view, it consists of two horse-shoe arches filling the opening of the flat arch. The suspended key-stone of this latter arch serves as an impost to support the joggled voussoirs of the two horse-shoe arches (Figs. 251 and 252).

The bay of this portal was formerly topped by four corbelled domes. They have recently collapsed, but according to Herzfeld, two of their springing points were suspended, one in the centre of the bay and the other in the middle of the frontal arch.<sup>3</sup> This last one was preserved and so was the corresponding bracket-shaped impost on the back wall. The exact shape of the four covering elements is unknown, but Herzfeld suggests that they were probably monolithic slabs.<sup>4</sup> The turba is roofed by a dome of an unusual type. It is constructed with a dodecagonal zone of baked bricks each measuring 20 x 20 x 7 cm. The lower parts, namely the square base and the pendentives, are constructed internally of rather roughly shaped stone. All the interior is covered with a coating of plaster

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1. Supra, p. 101 and Fig. 126.

2. The other two arches of this type are found in al-Madrassa al-Nūriya (Fig. 13) and in al-Madrassa al-‘Ādiliya (Fig. 196).

3. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 3.

4. Ibid.



(Fig. 253). Four pyramidal pendentives are set on the corners of the square base to transform it into a twelve-sided figure. Above the twelve-sided polygon rises a dodecagonal drum with twelve arched windows; most of these windows have been blocked up. The tops of the arches of these windows are constructed in such a way as to project inwards towards the centre and to form "broken sides" over the windows. Between the windows, and covering the spandrels of their arches, are twelve small pendentives having the same shape as the four large pendentives on the square base (Figs. 253-254). Each of these pendentives is bisected, with the middle projecting towards the centre of the dome. These projections, namely those over the small pendentives and those which are over the windows, together form a star-like base of 24 points. This stage of the transition zone is crowned by a smooth dome. Four windows are set over the springing line of the dome on the diagonal axis (Fig. 255). The exterior of the transition zone and the dome have been coated with plaster many times, but the twelve-sided drum is still almost unchanged.

Finally it is worth pointing out that the interior of the turba has been covered with two successive coatings of plaster. The first one is made of the usual Ayyūbid coating of shredded flax mixed with plaster, while the second coating is of plaster which probably dates from the restoration during the Xth/XVIth century.

## Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 1-4.

Sauvaire, op.cit., III (1894), pp. 275-277.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 88.

Wulzinger and Watzinger, op.cit., II, pp. 73-75.

Rep. Nos. 4270 and 4380.

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S.D.A. File No. 78.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE NŪRID AND AYYŪBID DOMED BUILDINGS OF NORTHERN SYRIA

## Section 1.

## Jāmi' al-Ḥasanīn at Ḥamā

Ḥamā,<sup>1</sup> nowadays, is a small town situated between Damascus and Aleppo but nearer to the latter. The Nūrid and Ayyūbid dynasties attached great importance to Ḥamā because of its strategic position in relation to the battle-fields of the Crusades.

There are many magnificent monuments in Ḥamā belonging to its golden age in the Nūrid and Ayyūbid periods. This work is concerned with two of these: Jāmi' al-Ḥasanīn and al-Jāmi' al-Nūrī. As Jāmi' al-Ḥasanīn is a very small mosque in comparison to the two Great Mosques of Ḥamā, it receives scant attention in the chronicles. The inscription is sufficient to date it. It consists of seven lines engraved on a stone slab measuring 60 x 40 cm. It reads:<sup>2</sup>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله [محمد] رسول الله  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم امر بعمارة هذا المسجد المبارك بعد هدمه  
 في الزلزلة الحادثة سنة اثنتين وخمسين وخمس مائة مولانا الملك  
 العادل المجاهد نور الدين ابو القاسم محمود بن زنكي بن [اقسنقر]

"Basmala...There is no god but God; Muḥammad is the messenger of God, may God bless him and his family. Our lord the just King, the fighter of the Holy War, Nūr al-Dīn

1. See EI<sup>1</sup>; s.v. 'Ḥamā' and EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ḥamāt'; Yāqūt, op.cit., II, pp. 330-2.

2. On this inscription see "Rep." No. 3220; Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 42.

Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn Āqsunqur has ordered this blessed mosque to be built after its demolition by the earthquake that took place in 552" (A.D.1157). The historians record this earthquake in detail.<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-'Adīm writes that in Rajab 552/1157 many earthquakes occurred in Syria; they demolished Ḥamā, Shaizar, Kafar Ṭāb, Afāmyā, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Ḥoms and Ḥiṣn al-Shummīs near Salamyā in addition to many Crusader castles. Since the walls of these cities were in ruins Nūr al-Dīn collected all his armies and began rebuilding them and fortified them against the Crusaders.<sup>2</sup>

The mosque is of no great size and occupies an irregular area. It shows many periods of construction. The mosque consists of a courtyard surrounded by a prayer hall on the south, a portico of four bays on the north side and shops, rooms and a dwelling house on the east (Fig. 256),

The most impressive feature of this building is the dome sheltering the east wing of the prayer hall. The central area, in front of the miḥrāb, is roofed by a dome resting on four squinches. This latter dome has suffered badly from successive restorations and it is very hard to be sure of its date. The west wing is roofed by a cross vault. A minaret (possibly of Mamlūk date judging by its decoration of alternating colours of stone courses) stands on the south

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1. Ibn al-'Adīm, "Zubdat al-Ḥalb fī Tārīkh Ḥalab", ed. S. Dahān, (Damascus, 1954), II, p. 306; Abū Shāmā, I, p. 104; Ibn Taghrībirdī al-Atābikī, "Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa 'l-Qāhira", (Cairo, n.d.), V, p. 325.

2. Ibn al-'Adīm, II, p. 306.

wall between the middle bay of the prayer hall and the west bay (Fig. 257).

Comparison of the eastern dome with other Nūrid domes<sup>1</sup> strongly suggests that it should be dated in the 6th/12th century. This dome rests on a regular square base. The transition from the square base into the dodecagonal base is carried out by means of four pyramidal pendentives, each being a section of a twelve-sided pyramid (Figs. 258-259).<sup>2</sup> The dodecagonal zone originally contained twelve windows; they are all walled up now. This zone is crowned with another zone, a twenty-four-sided figure formed by twenty-four arched niches. The latter zone is terminated by a dentated circle on which the ribbed dome rests (Figs. 258-259). All the interior has been covered with an ugly coating of plaster, but its architectural details are still clearly visible.

The exterior of the transition zone and the dome appear as a dodecagonal base with twelve arched windows - these were formerly open - crowned with a ribbed dome. It has the same appearance as those of Damascus, but with twenty-four ribs instead of sixteen (Figs. 257 and 260).

#### Bibliography

"Rep.", No. 3220.

Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 42.

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1. Cf. the domes of Jāmi' al-Nūrī at Ḥamā, *infra*, p.

2. See *infra*, p. 318 .

## Section 2.

## Al-Jāmi' al-Nūrī at Ḥamā

Al-Jāmi' al-Nūrī is situated on the banks of the River al-ʿAṣī (Orontes) in the Bāb al-Nāʿūra quarter. Its site used to be occupied by a monastery called Dair Quzma.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān ascribes the building of al-Jāmi' al-Nūrī at Ḥamā to Nūr al-Dīn, as also the mosques of Urfa (al-Ruhā) and Manbij.<sup>2</sup>

The mosque still bears an inscription on its north façade. It is written on a panel measuring 7.65 x 0.60m. and consists of two wide lines and two other narrow lines. It reads:<sup>3</sup>

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ  
وَسَلَّمَ أَمْرٌ يَعْمَلُ هَذَا الْجَامِعَ الْمُبَارَكُ مَوْلَانَا الْمَلِكُ الْعَادِلُ الْعَالِمُ  
الْعَارِفُ الزَاهِدُ نَوْرُ الدِّينِ رَكْنُ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ مَحْيِي الْعَدْلِ فِي الْعَالَمِينَ  
نَصِيرُ الْحَقِّ بِالْبِرَاهِينِ قَسِيمُ الدَّوْلَةِ الْقَاهِرَةِ عَزَّ الْمَلَّةُ الزَّاهِرَةِ مَجِيرُ  
الْأَمَةِ الْبَاهِرَةِ حَافِظُ الشُّعُورِ غِيَاثُ الْجُمْهُورِ قَاهِرُ الْمُتَمَرِّدِينَ قَاتِلُ الْكُفْرِ  
وَالْمُشْرِكِينَ مُنْصِفُ الْمَظْلُومِينَ مِنَ الظَّالِمِينَ أَبُو الْقَاسِمِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ زَنْكِي  
بْنِ أَقْسَنْقَرٍ نَاصِرُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَخَمْسَمِائِهِ عَلَى يَدِ  
وَلِيِّهِ خُسْرُو بْنُ تَلِيكَ بْنِ سَلَامٍ الْهَذْبَانِي صَنَعَهُ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ  
الْمَلِكِي رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ .

"Basmala ... There is no god but God; Muḥammad is his messenger, may God bless him. This blessed Jāmi' was

1. K. Shḥāta, "Min Ma'āthir Nūr al-Dīn al-ʿUmrāniya fī Ḥamā, al-Jāmi' al-Nūrī", *A.A.S.*, XV (1965), 2, p. 82.
2. Ibn Khallikān, *op.cit.*, II. p. 88.
3. On this inscription see "*Rep.*" No. 3248; Shḥāta, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

ordered to be built by our lord, the just king, the scholar, the knowing, the ascetic, the fighter of the Holy War, Nūr al-Dīn, the pillar of Islam and the Muslims, the animator of justice in the two worlds, the defender of truth through the proofs, the associate of the triumphant state, the glory of the brilliant nation, the protector of the dazzling nation, the guard of the borders, the helper of the public, the conqueror of the rebellious, the killer of the infidels and atheists, the giver of justice to the oppressed against the oppressor, Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī Ibn Āqsūnqur, defender of the Commander of the Faithful, in 558H.<sup>1</sup> The work was carried out by his client Khusrū Ibn Talbak Ibn Salām al-Hadhabānī; the work of 'Abd Allah Ibn Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Makkī, may God bless him". The mosque contains work of at least three major periods of construction, and in addition to that many other minor restorations (Fig. 261).

On the whole, the building retains its original form from the time of its foundation by Nūr al-Dīn. A second period of construction, epigraphically dated,<sup>2</sup> is that of the two Ayyūbid governors of Ḥamā, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II, Maḥmūd 626-642/1229-1244 and Abū 'l-Fidā Ismā'īl, 710/1310-733/1333; a third restoration is datable to the Turkish period.<sup>3</sup>

There are three domes in the jāmi', one of which is set over the western bay of the original prayer hall, while

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1. A.D. 1163.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 46.

3. Ibid., p.40.



the two others are set over two of the bays of the eastern portico. The three domed bays are arranged on a N.-S. axis in the eastern section of the jāmi'. They represent three types of dome construction. The two northern ones, at least, belong to the first period. The northernmost follows a type used during the reign of Zangī and at the very beginning of Nūr al-Dīn's reign.<sup>1</sup> It is a smooth dome set over an octagonal zone formed by four squinches. Each of these squinches is an arch resting on two corbels, as in Mashhad al-Muhassin in Aleppo.<sup>2</sup>

The dome immediately to the south of this dome is constructed according to the same design as that of Jāmi' al-Hasanīn, six years earlier. It roofs a perfectly square bay formed by four arches which rest on four piers. Four pyramidal pendentives span the corners of the square base to form a regular dodecagonal base. Above this base rises a twelve-sided zone with twelve arched panels (Fig. 262). This zone is transformed into a twenty-four-sided figure by means of embryonic pendentives set on its corners by the same method as that used in al-Madrassa al-Qilījiya in Damascus.<sup>3</sup> The dome is fluted with twenty-four ribs, the concave surfaces of which are exceptionally deep. The exterior of this dome does not correspond with the interior, and it differs from the usual appearance of the Damascus ribbed domes in that the ribs have concave surfaces instead

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 41.

2. See infra, p.206 .

3. Supra, p. 178 .

of convex ones (Fig. 263). This probably results from a restoration in the VIIIth/XIVth century; some domes of that period with convex ribs still survive, for instance the turba of Abū 'l-Fidā which dates from 733/1333 (Fig. 264), and the turba of al-Malik al-Manṣūr who died in 683/1284 and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar who died in 698/1299. It seems that this type of dome construction was adopted in Ḥamā alone.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", pp. 40-5.

"Rep." No. 3248.

K. Shḥāta, "Min Ma'āthir Nūr al-Dīn al-'Umrāniya fī Ḥamā, al-Jāmi' al-Nūrī", A.A.S., XV, (1965), 2, pp. 82-9.

## Section 3.

Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal  
("The lower maqām of Ibrāhīm")

Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal is a small building situated in the citadel of Aleppo. It has been described as al-Asfal (the lower) simply to distinguish it from another maqām of Ibrāhīm in the same citadel, some 40m. to the north, which is called Maqām Ibrāhīm al-A'lā (the upper maqām of Ibrāhīm). Ibn Shaddād states that there were two churches in the citadel, and that one of these churches was originally an altar for Ibrāhīm, who used to sit on a stone there milking his cattle. A mosque was then built in that spot in the days of the Mardāsīd dynasty (415-472/1024-1079).<sup>2</sup> Ibn Shaddād, quoting Ibn Buṭlān, goes on to say that the founder of this maqām is unknown, but that Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī rebuilt and decorated it and that he added a cistern built of cut stone and lead.<sup>3</sup> We are told that the Mongols set fire to the two maqāms in the spring of 659/1261.<sup>4</sup>

The inscriptions on the building describe the history of the maqām, then state that it was founded by Nūr al-Dīn in 563/1168.

Figure 265 shows the foundation inscription which is engraved on a stone slab measuring 73 x 63cm. set on the north façade of the prayer hall. It reads:<sup>5</sup>

1. On maqām see EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Architecture," I, p. 422-5.
2. The Mardāsīd dynasty ruled Aleppo from 415/1024 to 472/1079. This dynasty had only three rulers (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, op.cit. II, pp. 9-70).
3. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", pp. 39-40.
4. Ibid., p. 40.
5. On this inscription see Herzfeld "Aleppo", I, p. 119; "Rep." No. 3275.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بإشاد هذا المسجد المقام الملك العادل  
 نور الدين النير إلى رحمة الله تعالى أبو القاسم محمود بن زكي بن  
 اقسنقر غفر الله له ولوالديه وأحسن خاتمه في سنة ثلثة وستين  
 وخمس مائه .

"Basmala...The just King Nūr al-Dīn, the one who needs the mercy of God, Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī Ibn Āqsunqur, may God forgive him and his parents and grant him a good end, ordered this mosque-maqām to be built in 563" (A.D. 1168).

There are two other inscriptions which show that other units were added to the building. One of these inscriptions is engraved on a slab measuring 82 x 50 cm. set over the outer entrance (Fig. 266). It consists of three lines and reads:<sup>1</sup>

أمر بعمارة الملك الصالح نور الدين أبو الفتح اسماعيل بن محمود  
 بن زكي بن اقسنقر ناصر أمير المؤمنين بتولي العبد شاذيخت في سنة  
 خمس وسمعين وخمس مائه .

"The virtuous King Nūr al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Ismā'īl Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī Ibn Āqsunqur, defender of the Commander of the Faithful, ordered this to be built under the supervision of the slave Shādhbākht in 575" (A.D. 1179). It seems that the inscription is most probably not in its original site; it could therefore refer to a unit added to the maqām, but it is very hard to suggest just what that unit was.

The other text is engraved on a corbel measuring 24 x 24 x 45 cm. affixed on the north façade over a well

1. On this inscription see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 128; "Rep.", No. 3345.

showing that Shādhbākht had endowed the maqām with a village as waqf. It reads:<sup>1</sup>

ما وقف العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله شاذبخت الملكي العارلي على  
المسجد المقام بقلعة المصوره القزیه المعروفة بنوايل<sup>2</sup> وقفنا محبا  
مؤبدا فمن بدله بعدما سمعه فاما الله على الذين يبدلونه ان الله  
سميع عليم .

"The slave, he who needs the mercy of God, Shādhbākht al-Malākī al-‘Ādilī, has endowed for the mosque-maqām which is in the victorious citadel the village known as Nawā’il. It is inalienable waqf for ever; anyone who changes it after having knowledge of it commits a crime which will fall back on those who will imitate it; indeed God is all-hearing and all-knowing" (Koran II, 181).

There are other inscriptions referring to further restorations and waqfs in the maqām. These are all post-Ayyūbid.

In 616/1219, there was a restoration under the regency of Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭughrīl during the reign of al-Malik al-‘Azīz, the son of al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī.<sup>3</sup>

Another waqf was endowed for the maqām in 811/1408 by Zain al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Shihna.<sup>4</sup> Other restorations were carried out in 988/1580 and in 1290/1873.<sup>5</sup> The latest restoration was made by the S.D.A. just recently.

1. On this inscription see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 129; "Rep.", No. 3340.
2. "Rep." has نابل Nābil while it is in fact نوايل or, as in Herzfeld نوايل, a village to the east of Aleppo mentioned by Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 53.
3. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 130; *idem*, "Damascus. II", p. 48; "Rep.", No. 3833.
4. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 131; *idem*, "Damascus. II", p. 48.
5. *Idem*, "Aleppo", I, p. 132.

The maqām had a wooden mihrāb with elaborate decoration but it was removed at the end of French rule<sup>1</sup> and is now missing. Thanks for the details of the mihrāb are due to Herzfeld who worked on it before it was lost (Fig. 267). It is decorated principally with geometrical interlaced bands forming geometrical figures of different shapes filled with floral arabesque designs<sup>2</sup> (Figs. 267-268).

A wooden frame of similar decoration surrounded one of the two covered recesses in the east side of the prayer hall. Herzfeld dates these wooden elements to the epoch of Nūr al-Dīn and his son Ismā'īl<sup>3</sup> but the statement of Ibn Shaddād to the effect that the Mongols set the maqām on fire<sup>4</sup> throws some doubt on this date. They are probably Mamlūk.

#### Plan and Construction (Figs. 269-270).

The prayer hall, which is the oldest existing part of the building, is an oblong area with a concave mihrāb in the middle of the south side.<sup>5</sup> There are two openings at the west side and two right-angled niches on the east side. The two western openings are doorways leading into a closed corridor called locally "ziyāra" (sanctuary). This corridor contains a well at one end and a very small room at the other end, which is the "ziyāra". This "ziyāra" is

1. Ş. Saouaf, "Aleppo" (Aleppo, 1965), p. 34.

2. On this mihrāb see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 120-8.

3. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 120 and 124.

4. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 40.

5. The façade of the mihrāb and its concave surfaces were originally faced by woodwork.

said to be the spot where the stone of Ibrāhīm was once kept.<sup>1</sup> The prayer hall originally opened into the courtyard by means of three archways, but each has been narrowed and converted into a central doorway flanked by two windows. This conversion was probably carried out in the Nūrid or the Ayyūbid period. The reason for this assumption is the existence of the wooden soffits of the two windows, which can be dated to this period.

Two ancient columns are set against the north wall; they are so arranged as to form the outer corners of the central square bay in front of the mihrāb (Fig. 270). According to Herzfeld these two columns are remains of the earlier church standing in situ as a part of the original plan.<sup>2</sup> One of these columns may be of Byzantine origin, judging by its basalt material and its capital which is decorated with acanthus ornament. The other, which is to the east, is of yellow stone, corresponding in its material to some columns in the Great Mosque of Aleppo which belong to the Nūrid period. These yellow columns were cut from a

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 49. Some Arab historians give details of "one of the heads of St. John." This head was discovered in Ba'albak in 435/1043 and was transferred to Ḥomṣ and then to Aleppo where it was buried in the upper maqām. After the fire in the citadel it was transferred into the Great Mosque of Aleppo. Herzfeld believes that the "ziyāra" was probably the place where this head and the stone of Ibrāhīm were once kept although the historians confirm that the head was in the upper Maqām (Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 39 and Yāqūt, op. cit., II, p. 308).

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 49.



stone quarry in Ba'ādīn.<sup>1</sup>

The restoration of the Great Mosque took place in 564/1169 and therefore the column of the maqām could be one of those which were prepared for the mosque.

The prayer hall and some parts of the other units of the maqām are built, externally, of cut stone, while the interior is constructed of rubble masonry covered with a coating of plaster. The lower part of the north side has an applied frieze of marble slabs. The whole of the prayer hall is roofed with a central dome flanked by two barrel vaults. The square base of the dome is formed by four arches. The eastern and the western arches represent the inner ends of the lateral vaults. The northern arch rests on the two above-mentioned columns, and the southern arch is let into the south wall (Fig. 271).

The square base is transformed into a dodecagonal zone by means of four pyramidal pendentives, each being cut from a dodecagonal pyramid (Fig. 272). A twelve-sided zone rests on the latter base. It has only four windows set on the axes of the square base. The exterior of the transition zone is constructed of cut stone. The four windows are topped by flat lintels instead of arches, and the whole complex is surmounted by a smooth and slightly pointed dome made of baked brick.

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1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 32.

## Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", pp. 47-9.

Idem., "Aleppo" I, pp. 119-134.

S. Saouaf, "Aleppo" (Aleppo, 1965), pp. 32-4.

Idem., "Qal'at Ḥalab" (Aleppo, 1967), pp. 44-8.

A. Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār al-Islāmiya wa 'l-Tārīkhiya fī Ḥalab" (Damascus, 1956) pp. 41-2. This book is a translation into Arabic of J. Sauvaget's "Inventaire des Monuments Musulmans de la Ville d'Alep" (Paris, 1931), with the addition of some very valuable comments (cited hereinafter as Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār").

"Rep." Nos. 3275, 3246, 3256, 3730, 3834.

Bīshūf al-Jarmānī, "Tuḥfat al-Anbā' fī Tarīkh Ḥalab al-Shahbā'" (Beirut, 1880), p. 135.

## Section 4.

## Al-Madrasa al-Ḥalāwiya

This madrasa, which is now a mosque, is situated near the Great Mosque of Aleppo facing its western gate. Originally, it was the cathedral of Aleppo; it was converted into a mosque in 518/1124, and then into a madrasa in 543/1149. Ibn al-ʿAdīm and others record the story of the conversion of this cathedral into a mosque. This conversion took place during the siege of Aleppo by the Crusaders under the leadership of Joscelin in 518/1124. Joscelin desecrated the grave of Mashhad al-Muḥassin and other Muslim tombs; so, returning evil for evil, Ibn al-Khashshāb, the Qāḍī of Aleppo, ordered four churches in the city to be converted into mosques.<sup>1</sup> The cathedral of Aleppo was one of these churches; after its conversion it was called Masjid al-Sarrājīn. The cathedral was built in the Vth century and rebuilt by Justinian.<sup>2</sup>

The mosque was then converted into a madrasa in 543/1149; this was in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn, who added an īwān and cells for the jurists.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Jubair describes the madrasa in 580/1184, stating that it was the most impressive madrasa that he had ever seen and that its south side was occupied by a row of cells.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, op.cit., II, pp. 214-5; Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 45; Ibn al-Shihna, "Al-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Tarīkh Mamlakat Ḥalab," ed. Y. Sarkīs (Beirut, 1909), p. 115.
  2. J. Sauvaget, "Inventaire des Monuments Musulmans de la Ville d'Alep" (Paris, 1931), No. 15.
  3. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", pp. 45 and 110.
  4. Ibn Jubair, p. 253.

Some historians give the date 544/1149-1150 as the beginning of the conversion of the mosque into a madrasa.<sup>1</sup> According to the inscription on the main entrance the madrasa was founded in 543/1149. The inscription consists of three lines running along the three sides of the bay.

It reads:<sup>2</sup>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من جاء بالحسنة فله<sup>3</sup> عشر أمثالها<sup>4</sup> جدد  
هذه البنية السعيدة وانشأها مدرسة على مذهب امام ٠٠٠٠ ابي حنيفة

٠٠٠٠ رضي الله عنه مولانا الامير الاسفهلار الاجل السيد الكبير

الملك<sup>5</sup> العالم العارف العادل المجاهد المؤيد المنصور المظفر الاعز

الكامل نور الدين ومظهر الملة الاسلاميه بسيفه صفي الامام بنصره قسيم

الدولة وعماد ما اختاره الانام ومعه رضي الخلافة ٠٠٠٠ الملة ومجدها

تاج الملوك والسلطين وجلالها حافظ بلاد المسلمين وثغرها شمس المعالي

وفلكها

٠٠٠٠ تاجر المتمردين قانع الملحدين قاتل الكفرة والمشركين اتابك

ابو القاسم محمود بن زنكي بن اقسقر ناصر امير المؤمنين تقبل الله منه

على يد محمد بن عبد الصمد الطرسوسي الفقير الى رحمة الله في شوال

سنة ثلث واربعين وخمسائه

"Basmala ... whoever brings a good deed, he shall have ten like it. This blessed building was rebuilt and was founded as a madrasa for the madhhab of imām ... Abū Ḥanīfa ... may God

1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 45; Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., p. 115.

2. On this inscription see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 208 and 210; "Rep." No. 3137; K. al-Ghuzzi, "Nahr al-Dhahab bi Tārīkh Ḥalab" (Aleppo, 1926), II, p. 220; Bīshūf, op.cit., pp. 138-9.

3. Herzfeld has فعله while it is, in fact, فله

4. Koran, VI, 160.

5. Herzfeld has المالك while it is, in fact, الملك

bless him, by our lord the prince, the dignified Iṣfahsalār, the great master, the scholar king, the knowing, the just, the fighter of the Holy War, the supported (by God), the victorious, the triumphant, the powerful Nūr al-Dīn, the supporter of the Islamic nation by his sword, the associate of the state, the pillar of mankind and its power, the dear one of the Caliphate.....the nation and its splendour, the crown of the kings and sultāns and their loftiness, the protector of the Islamic countries and their fortresses..... the vanquisher of the rebellious, the remover of the apostates, the fighter of the unbelievers and the polytheists, atābik Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī Ibn Āqsunqur, the defender of the Commander of the Faithful, may God accept it from him. That was under the supervision of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ṭarsūsī, the one who needs the mercy of God, in Shawwāl 543" (February to March 1149 A.D.).

The īwān contains a magnificent miḥrāb of carved wood inlaid with ivory surrounded with a band of inscription.<sup>1</sup> This inscription states that the miḥrāb was made in 643/1245 under the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsūf II. Frequent restorations have been made since then, probably the most effective one being that of the Turkish period<sup>2</sup> in 1041/1680.

#### Plan and Construction

The plan of this building shows an unhomogeneous mixture of two elements: a church and a madrasa. The church still preserves some of its original plan, with a

1. On this inscription see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 117; "Rep.", No. 4248.

2. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", p. 221.

nave and an apse attached to it on the west (Fig. 273). The nave, which is at present a prayer hall, is formed by four L-shaped angle piers ending with free-standing columns. The apse is formed by six free-standing columns arranged on a semi-circular line.

The īwān, the basin and the entrance are the only features of the madrassa which remain.

Two reconstructions of the plan of the cathedral have been published. Guyer assumes that the east side of the nave opened into a similar nave and this into a third; all were domed like the existing original one, and the east end of the third nave had an apse at its east side corresponding to the surviving apse at the west end (Fig. 274A).<sup>1</sup> Écochard suggests that the plan of the cathedral was originally that of a centralized building like the one at Buṣrā;<sup>2</sup> a central square composed of four L-shaped piers with an exedra-like alcove at each of its four sides. Each of these exedra-like alcoves was composed of six columns, exactly like the existing western one. The whole of this complex centred on a circle with four exedrae on the diagonal axes and an apse on the east side<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 274B).

The unhomogeneous nature of the plan of this building is reflected in its construction. One observes purely

1. Ş. Guyer, "La Madrasa al-Ḥalāwiya à Alep", B.I.F.A.O., XI (1914), p. 225.
2. On the cathedral of Buṣrā see J. Crowfoot "Churches at Busra and Samaria-Sebaste" (London, 1937), pp. 5-23.
3. M. Écochard, "Note sur un Édifice Chrétien d'Alep" Syria, XXVII (1950), pp. 274 and 281.

Christian Syrian features alongside Islamic ones. Capitals and friezes are decorated with remarkable wind-blown acanthus (Fig. 275) and the huge dome rests on spherical pendentives (Figs. 275 and 396). Although the dome was rebuilt during the Middle Ages,<sup>1</sup> there is almost nothing in its appearance to show Islamic influence. It is hard to examine the material of the interior of the building because of the coating of plaster, but most probably it is of cut stone corresponding with the exterior. The dome, which is coated with plaster on both the interior and the exterior, is made of baked brick.

The exterior of the transition zone appears as an irregular octagon measuring 5.12m. on the axial sides and 4.30m. on the oblique sides. It is pierced by eight windows, one at the middle of each side (Fig. 277).

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 205-21.

J. Sauvaget, "Inventaire de Monuments Musulmans de la Ville d'Alep" (Paris, 1931), No. 15.

M. Écochard, "Note sur un Édifice Chrétien d'Alep" Syria, XXVII (1950), pp. 270-83.

Saouaf, "Alep", p. 68.

Talas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 59-62.

H.C. Butler, "Early Churches in Syria, Fourth to Seventh Centuries" (repr. Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 170-1.

S. Guyer, "La Madrasa al-Ḥalāwiya d'Alep" B.I.F.A.O., XI (1914), pp. 217-31.

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1. Guyer, "La Madrasa al-Ḥalāwiya", p. 218.



"Rep." Nos. 3137, 4248.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 109.

Bīshūf, op.cit., pp. 138-9.

Al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., pp. 220f.

## Section 5.

Mashhad al-Muḥassin  
or  
"Mashhad al-Dakka"

This mashhad<sup>1</sup> stands on the slopes of al-Jawshan mountain to the west of Aleppo, not very far from Mashhad al-Ḥusain.

The early history of this building is given with full details by Yaḥyā Ibn Abū Ṭayy,<sup>2</sup> whose account of this mashhad is quoted by most of the historians of Aleppo<sup>3</sup> and who lived at the time of its most important restoration in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries.

He writes: "Mashhad al-Dakka to the west of Aleppo was so called because Saif al-Dawla<sup>4</sup> had a dakka (bench) on the mountain of al-Jawshan from which he watched the horse races which were held at the site of the mashhad. The mashhad contains the tomb of al-Muḥassin Ibn al-Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abū Talib which was discovered in 351/962 by Saif al-Dawla 'Alī Ibn Ḥamdān who then ordered this mashhad to

1. On the term mashhad, see EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Architecture", p. 425.
2. The history of Yaḥyā Ibn Abū Ṭayy and his other works are lost. They were the sources of Ibn al-'Adīm, Ibn Shaddād and Ibn al-Shiḥna for the events of the Ḥamdānid dynasty and for the period up to the epoch of Nūr al-Dīn. He also wrote "Kanz al-Muwahhidīn fī Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn" and "Uqūd al-Jawāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Zāhir" in addition to his history (see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 144, n.2).
3. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", pp. 48-50, Ibn al-Shiḥna, op.cit., pp. 85-7.
4. Saif al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī was the founder of the Ḥamdānid dynasty which ruled Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia from 293/905 to 399/1008 (see EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. 'Ḥamdānids').

be erected around the tomb. Ibn Abū Ṭayy says that he himself saw the entrance of this mashhad with its Kufic inscription stating that the mashhad was founded by Saif al-Dawla.<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of the Mardāsīd dynasty, the northern cistern was built; then another cistern was built to the south of the mashhad in 483/1089<sup>2</sup> by Qasīm al-Dawla Āqsunqur who also built the southern wall of the mashhad. In the reign of Nūr al-Dīn, another cistern was built in the courtyard of the mashhad and also a maida'a.<sup>3</sup>

In 613/1216 the entrance of the mashhad, which had been built by Saif al-Dawla, was demolished by Ṣafī al-Dīn Ṭāriq Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Bālīsī (who was known as Ibn al-Ṭarīra), and was replaced by another entrance.<sup>4</sup>

In the reign of al-Zāhir Ghāzī, the southern wall was ruined and was rebuilt by him.<sup>5</sup>

The northern wall then fell into ruins in the days of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf Ibn al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ibn al-Malik al-Zāhir who rebuilt it and surrounded the courtyard with arcades.<sup>6</sup>

1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 48.

2. In the text of Ibn Shaddād and Ibn al-Shihna it is 582/1186, but Qasīm al-Dawla Āqsunqur ruled Aleppo from 479/1086 to 487/1094 (see Ibn al-'Adīm op.cit., II, pp. 104-113); therefore it should probably be 482/1089.

3. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 49.

4. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

5. Ibid., p. 50.

6. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 50; Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., p. 87.

The mashhad was demolished by the Mongols in 658/1260 and was then restored by al-Ẓāhir Baybars after he had recaptured Aleppo from the Mongols.<sup>1</sup>

The accounts of the historians are confirmed by the present state of the building and its inscriptions. The oldest of these inscriptions is dated 537/1142. It is engraved on the east façade on a stone measuring 1.5m. square and consists of twelve lines of simple Kufic. It gives information about the restoration of the building in Muḥarram, 537/August, 1142 by 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī Ibn Āq-sunqur.<sup>2</sup>

Another inscription, on the same east façade, but to the north of the latter, contains a statement of the restoration of the rebuilding by Nūr al-Dīn. It consists of four lines of simple Kufic engraved on a slab measuring 50 x 40 cm. The stone represents the left half of the text; the other half is missing. It reads:<sup>3</sup>

.....لم المؤيد المنصور المظفر نور الدين  
.....الملوك عدة السلاطين قاهر  
.....هـان خسرو ايران امير العراقيين شهربار الشام  
.....ربيع الاخر سنة احدى واربعين وخمسمائه

As this inscription is lacunary all that can be read of it is part of the honorifics of Nūr al-Dīn and the date of the restoration in Rabī' II, 541/September 1146.

1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 50; Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., p.87.
2. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 196; "Rep." No. 3112.
3. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 198; "Rep." No. 3148.

The other surviving inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 110 x 40cm. over the entrance. It consists of three lines reading:<sup>1</sup>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم جدد عمارته في دولة مولانا الملك  
الظاهر غياث الدنيا والدين غازي بن الملك الناصر يوسف بن ايوب  
الفتير الى رحمة الله تعالى طارق بن طريه بن يحيى .

"Basmala...The one who needs the mercy of God, Ṭāriq Ibn Ṭarīra Ibn Yaḥyā has restored its construction in the reign of al-Malik Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Ghāzī Ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb." The inscription does not mention the date expressly and the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ghāzī was a very long one, between 577/1181 and 613/1216. Herzfeld<sup>2</sup> dates this inscription to 585/1189, relying on Ibn Shaddād, but in fact Ibn Shaddād gives this date in his passage on Mashhad al-Ḥusain.<sup>3</sup>

The "Répertoire" classifies this inscription among those of 613/1216,<sup>4</sup> probably basing itself on Ibn Abū Ṭayy who gives this as the date for the rebuilding of the entrance.<sup>5</sup> A dated inscription is engraved on the north façade of the prayer hall on a stone slab measuring 80 x 60 cm. It reads:<sup>6</sup>

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بعمارة

1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 199; "Rep.", No. 3791; Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 151.

2. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 199.

3. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 51.

4. "Rep.", No. 3791.

5. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 50; Ibn al-Shiḥna, op.cit., p. 86.

6. Cf. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 200; "Rep." No. 3708.

- هذا الموضع المبارك مولانا السلطان  
 - الملك الظاهر غياث الدين ابو المظفر  
 - الغازي بن يوسف خلد الله ملكه في سنة تسع وستمائه

"Basmala....Our lord the Sultān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir  
 Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Abū 'l-Muẓaffar al-Ghāzī Ibn  
 Yūsuf, may God perpetuate his reign, ordered this blessed  
 place to be built in 609" (1212).

There is another inscription<sup>1</sup> on the façade of the  
 north arcade engraved within a panel measuring 1.75 x  
 1.15m. It contains six lines consisting of a blessing on  
 the twelve Shī'ite imāms and the date 632/1224-5. This  
 inscription was written by the restorers of this façade,  
 but comparison of this inscription with the account of  
 Yahyā Ibn Abū Tayy suggests that it was made by Yūsuf Ibn  
 al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ibn al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī.

### The Plan (Fig. 278)

The plan of the building as a whole is not markedly  
 different from that of a madrassa. It is composed of many  
 units surrounding a central courtyard, with a prayer hall  
 with the usual triple-arched façade occupying its south  
 side. The prayer hall is faced from the north by a portico  
 opening onto the courtyard by means of three archways. The  
 west side consists of three units: a dome at the N.W. corner,

1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 200-1; "Rep." No. 4075.

the remains of an īwān, and a chamber at the S.W. corner. The east side consists of the entrance at the middle, two domed chambers to the south and a maida'a and the stairs to the north.

### The Construction

The building shows four distinct periods of construction (Fig. 278). The domed chambers at the N.W. and S.E. corners and the maida'a belong to the earliest phase of the building. The entrance and the west side<sup>1</sup> - which is ruined except for the domed chamber - belong to the reign of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī in 609/1212. The northern arcade belongs to the reign of al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad in 632/1234. The building is constructed of carefully cut stone covered on the interior by a coating of plaster. All the exterior is left uncovered.

The dome is the principal method of vaulting in this building, being used to roof all the surviving units of the mashhad except for the maida'a, which is roofed with a domical vault, and some other minor parts covered with barrel vaults.

The domes are of different types reflecting the frequent restorations of the building. The two adjacent domed chambers (A and B in the plan) at the S.E. corner consist, in fact, of an oblong chamber divided by an arch. The south chamber (A in the plan) is transformed into a perfect

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1. Sauvaget suggests that there is a series of three domed chambers occupying the west side instead of the īwān and the single chamber to the south of it; see his "Deux Sanctuaires Chiites d'Alep", Syria, IX (1928), p. 320.



square by means of a transverse arch.<sup>1</sup> It contains a concave mihrāb with two columns whose capitals are decorated with acanthus ornament and it also contains a cenotaph of carved wood dated to the XIIIth century.<sup>2</sup>

The most interesting feature of this dome is its zone of transition. It consists of two superposed zones, but it differs greatly from those of Damascus. The octagonal zone is formed by means of four squinches of different designs. Each of the two eastern ones is simply an arch spanning the corners and its soffit is wider at the top than at the springing points (Fig. 279A). Each of the other two squinches on the west side has a concave surface topped by a semi-dome (Fig. 279B).

The transition to the sixteen-sided zone is carried out by means of eight lozenge-shaped bevelled corbels set over the corners of the octagon. The upper zone is crowned with the smooth dome which rises from a circular base inscribed within the hexadecagonal zone (Fig. 280).

The northern chamber (B in the plan) is a perfect square with rather thick walls. It follows in its transition zone the same arrangement as in chamber A but it differs in having all four squinches of one type, each being of a shallow semi-cylindrical concave surface topped by a

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1. Such arches can be seen in Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal and in the domed chamber at the north-east corner of this building.
  2. Good details of the decoration of this cenotaph are given by Sauvaget ("Deux Sanctuaires", p. 323).

semi-dome. The transition from the octagonal zone to the hexadecagon is carried out by menas of tiny mugarnas-shaped cells instead of by bevelled corbels.

The same type of dome as in chamber A is found in chamber E. It is an oblong, divided into two areas: a square one topped by a dome and an oblong one roofed by a vault. These two rooms are divided by means of an arch resting on two columns, exactly as in rooms A and B and in Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal. However, while the square base is crowned with a dome of the same type as that of the tomb chamber, the lozenge-shaped corbels are replaced here by tiny cells (Fig. 281).

The prayer hall is roofed with three domes resting on three square bases formed by means of four transverse arches. The middle dome crowning the bay of the mihrāb is distinguished by its height and by its transition zone. This zone displays four groups of mugarnases set on the corners, each being of three courses. These four groups meet others at the third course where the whole is surmounted by a circular cornice from which the smooth dome rises (Figs. 282 and 283).

The two lateral domes of the prayer hall are both alike. The square base of each of them is transformed into an octagonal one by four pyramidal pendentives.

This octagonal zone is transformed, in turn, into a sixteen-sided base by lozenge-shaped corbels (Fig. 282). The north portico is also divided into three square bays divided by four transverse arches. These bays are roofed

by domes. They have been badly damaged by the frequent coatings of plaster. The transition zone of each of the middle and the western domes consists of two stages: an octagonal and a dodecagonal one. The octagonal zone is formed with four low squinches and the transition from the octagonal zone into the hexadecagonal one is carried out by means of eight lozenge-shaped bevelled corbels.

The eastern one is different. Its transition zone represents a strange cross between two methods; squinches and pendentives. This zone is formed by two squinches and two pyramial pendentives, each of these being a section of a dodecagonal pyramid. One may compare chambers A and E in this building where two different types of squinches are used in the transition zone.

In addition to these different systems, one finds another system used in the semi-dome over the portal bay. It consists of four courses of muqarnases. The lower two courses form a half-octagonal base and the upper two courses are topped by a semi-dome (Figs. 284-5).

#### Bibliography

- Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 193-201.  
 J. Sauvaget, "Deux Sanctuaires Chiites d'Alep" Syria, IX, (1928), pp. 224-37.  
 Idem, "Inventaire", No. 14.  
 Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 56-8.  
 Al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., pp. 278-80.  
 Bīshūf, op.cit., pp. 151-2.  
 "Rep.", Nos. 3112, 3148, 3708, 3791 and 4075.

## Section 6.

## Mashhad al-Ḥusain

Mashhad al-Ḥusain is a magnificent building situated on al-Jawshan mountain, about 1.5km. from the south-west corner of the wall of Aleppo.

Although the Arab historians of Aleppo give the story of the founding of this mashhad in an uninhabited area on the mountain of al-Jawshan,<sup>1</sup> Herzfeld, who believes that none of the Muḥammadan maqāms is a truly Muḥammadan sanctuary,<sup>2</sup> connects Mashhad al-Ḥusain with Dair Mart Marūtha.<sup>3</sup> This Dair was a monastery at al-Jawshan mountain on the site of Mashhad al-Ḥusain and Yāqūt states that it was converted into a mashhad.<sup>4</sup>

The mashhad was founded in 573/1177 in the reign of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl Ibn Nūr al-Dīn by the people of Aleppo under the supervision of Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Ṭabbākh<sup>5</sup> and it was finished in 585/1189.

As with Mashhad al-Muḥassin the historians give the periods of construction of this building.<sup>6</sup>

1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", pp. 50-1; Ibn al-Shiḥna, op.cit., pp. 87-9.
2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 47.
3. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 237.
4. Yāqūt, op.cit., II, pp. 691-2.
5. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", pp. 50-1; Ibn al-Shiḥna, op.cit., pp. 87-9.
6. Ibn Shaddād gives details of the founding of the mashhad, saying that each of the trades of Aleppo devoted one day to work in the mashhad. One tradesman, Abū 'l-Ghanā'im Ibn al-Shaqwīq, built the īwān from his own money and the grandfather of Ibn Shaddād built the southern side of the mashhad ("Aleppo", p. 51).

In the year 585/1189, Saif al-Dīn Ṭāriq Ibn 'Alī al-Bālisī (Ibn al-Ṭarīra) demolished its entrance which was very low and rebuilt it. This was in the year of the completion of the mashhad.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī paid the mashhad his attention and endowed it with waqfs,<sup>2</sup> but none of the historians mention what al-Malik al-Zāhir restored.

In the reign of al-Malik al-'Azīz, 613/1216-633/1236, Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Khashshāb gained permission to add a haram with rooms beside the mashhad, but the Mongols captured Aleppo before this part was completed. The Mongols plundered the mashhad of its treasures and pulled down its doors. When al-Zāhir Baybars recaptured Aleppo he restored the building.<sup>3</sup> The building served as a mashhad until the beginning of this century when it was taken over by the British Army as an ammunition store between 1912-1918. On the departure of the British Army from Aleppo and the arrival of the French in 1918, the mashhad suffered an explosion which destroyed the īwān and all the west side of the courtyard. However, many inscriptions on the building are preserved and these throw more light on its periods of construction; some of these inscriptions agree with the above-mentioned accounts. Before the explosion there was an inscription in the īwān

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1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 51.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

3. Ibid., p. 52.

reading<sup>1</sup>:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بعمل هذا الايوان المبارك العبد الفقير الى  
رحمة الله ابو غانم<sup>2</sup> ابن ابي الفضل عيسى<sup>3</sup> البرزاز الحلبي غفر الله له  
في شهور سنة تسع وسبعين<sup>4</sup> وخمسائه

"Basmala ... Abū Ghānim Ibn Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Īsā al-Bazzāz al-  
Ḥalabī, may God forgive him, has ordered this blessed īwān  
to be made in the months of 579" (A.D. 1183).

Another inscription is engraved within a panel over the  
main entrance. It reads:<sup>5</sup>

- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم عمر مشهد مولانا الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب  
- عليهما السلام في ايام دولة مولانا الملك الظاهر العالم العادل  
سلطان الاسلام  
- والمسلمين سيد الملوك والسلاطين ابي المظفر الغازي بن الملك الناصر  
يوسف بن ايوب

- ناصر امير المؤمنين في شهور<sup>6</sup> سنة ست وتسعين وخمسائه<sup>7</sup>

1. On this inscription see "Rep.", Nos. 3027, 3382;  
Herzfeld "Aleppo", I, p. 238; Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 151;  
al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., II, p. 282.
2. Herzfeld has ابو الغنائم ; "Rep." and Bīshūf have عامر  
but the name ابو غانم is given by the historians as that  
of the founder of the īwān. The name is read correctly  
by al-Ghuzzi.
3. Herzfeld has يحيى ; "Rep." has عيسى and it is so in  
al-Ghuzzi too.
4. "Rep." and al-Ghuzzi have 579 but Herzfeld reads it 569.  
As the building was founded in 573, the first reading is  
more logical. As to the reading of Bīshūf which is  
quoted in "Rep.", No. 3027, it has so many differences  
that it leads one to believe that it represents another  
text.
5. On this inscription see Herzfeld "Aleppo", I, p. 238; "Rep."  
No. 3483; al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., II, p. 284; Bīshūf, op.cit.,  
p. 151.
6. The words في شهور are omitted in "Rep.".
7. "Rep." has 592; al-Ghuzzi and Bīshūf have 572 which is  
in the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl Ibn Nūr al-Dīn.



"Basmala....The mashhad of our lord al-Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abū Ṭālib, peace upon them both, was constructed during the reign of our lord al-Malik al-Zāhir, the scholar, the just, the sultān of Islam and the Muslims, the lord of Kings and sultāns Abū 'l-Muẓaffar al-Ghāzī Ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, the defender of the Commander of the Faithful, in the months of 596" (A.D.1200).

In addition to these inscriptions, there is another one engraved in two lines within a long narrow panel at the top of the façade of the īwān. It consists of the Shi'ite blessing on the twelve īmāms.<sup>1</sup> This inscription has been pieced together again by the S.D.A. in its current restoration of the building.

#### The Plan (Fig. 286)

The plan of this monument is very extensive. The whole of the building shows three distinct periods of construction, beside some minor restorations. The central part surrounding the courtyard (A in Fig. 287) dates from the first foundation between 573/1177 and 585/1189.

Part B, or the annexe adjacent to the central part from its north side, was presumably added during the restoration by al-Zāhir Ghāzī between 596/1200 and 609/1212. The third part, which can be called the eastern annexe, is dated according to the chronicles to the reign of al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad. We are told that this part was

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1. On this inscription see Herzfeld "Aleppo", I, p. 245; "Rep.", No. 3485; al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., II, p. 284; Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 151.



begun in the reign of al-Malik al-‘Azīz Muḥammad under the supervision of Bahā’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Khashshāb but that it was not finished because of the capture of the city by the Mongols. This part is still unfinished.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth pointing out here that the blowing up of the īwān and the western part of the building caused problems concerning its true plan. Sauvaget suggests that this side was originally composed of an īwān flanked by two chambers.<sup>2</sup> The S.D.A. is restoring the building, but according to an incorrect plan (Fig. 287), which differs in many points from the original one made by Herzfeld before the explosion (Fig. 286).

The central portion, which is the oldest part of the building, follows a typical madrassa plan. It is composed of a central courtyard surrounded by chambers and porticoes on all sides. There is a prayer hall along the south side opening onto the courtyard through a triple arch. On the north side there is a triple-arched portico.<sup>3</sup> The west side is occupied by an īwān flanked with chambers on both sides. The entrance to the mashhad stands in the middle of the east side of the ṣaḥn and is flanked with chambers on both sides.

The northern annexe, which presumably belongs to the

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1. Sauvaget distinguishes four phases of construction: the first one in 579/1183; the second one between 585/1189 and 592/1195; the third one during the reign of al-Malik al-‘Azīz, before 658/1260; and the fourth in the days of al-Zāhir Baybars after the Mongol invasion (see "Deux Sanctuaires", pp. 224-5).
  2. Ibid., p. 227.
  3. Cf. the plan of Mashhad al-Muḥassin (Fig. 278).

reign of al-Zāhir Ghāzī, contains two domed chambers, a kitchen and lavatories. The eastern annexe is a large enclosure containing no other building, but at the east side there are some remains of the foundation walls level with the ground. These were excavated by the S.D.A.

### The Construction

Apart from the two domes in the annexe, the building is entirely constructed of cut stone on both the exterior and the interior. The dome is the basic method of roofing the building. The structure originally contained 13 domes, two of which fell into ruins and <sup>were</sup> very recently replaced with a flat ceiling of concrete.<sup>1</sup> The frequent restorations of the building left different types of domes, but even though they are unlike those of Mashhad al-Muḥassin, they are in harmony with the other parts of the building.

The prayer hall is roofed by a series of five domes and two domical vaults over the two ends. As usual, the central dome sheltering the bay of the mihrāb is distinguishable by its transition zone and height, while the other four are all of the same type. Each of these four domes crowns a square bay formed by means of transverse arches. The transition zone is carried out in two stages: four pyramidal pendentives span the corners of the square base to form an octagonal base, and this base is transformed into a hexadecagon by means of lozenge-shaped bevelled corbels (Fig. 288).

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1. These were the two chambers to the north of the īwān.

The hexadecagonal zone is followed by a circular cavetto cornice from which the dome rises. All of the domes of the prayer hall have been reconstructed by the S.D.A. The room next to the prayer hall at the south-east corner of the courtyard is roofed with a dome of the same type and almost of the same measurements as those of the prayer hall (Fig. 289).

The central dome of the prayer hall over the bay of the mihrāb differs from the other lateral domes. The transition zone to the octagonal base is effected by means of three mugarnases on each corner and this base is marked by a cavetto cornice. The second stage of the transition is the transforming of the octagonal base into the circular base which is performed by means of two superposed courses of mugarnases (Figs. 290-292). This zone is crowned with a circular cornice on which the smooth dome rises.

The northern portico is flanked on the east and the west by passages crowned with domical vaults. They lead into the northern annexe. The portico itself is roofed by three domes set over three square bays regulated by transverse arches. The transition zones of these domes show some variations from those of the prayer hall. All the three domes are of the same type, each resting directly on a dodecagonal base formed by four pyramidal pendentives cut from a dodecagonal pyramid (Figs. 290 and 293).

According to Herzfeld the two rooms to the north of the īwān were crowned with two domes resting on squinches, and according to his plan (Fig. 286) there was a corridor along

their west side. The S.D.A. omitted this corridor and added the area to the two chambers which became oblong instead of square; these two rooms are now roofed with flat ceilings. Two other types of domes are found in the northern annexe. There are two adjacent domed chambers in the west part of the annexe. The western one ("a"), which is said to have been the hall of ceremonies,<sup>1</sup> is oblong. It opens into chamber "b" through a wide archway. There are two arches spanning the north and the south ends, forming with the other two sides the square base of the dome. Squinches and pendentives are employed in the transition zone of this dome. There are four squinches of unusual designs spanning the corners of the square base and forming with four other arches the octagonal zone (Figs. 294-295). Each of these squinches is a semi-cylindrical concave surface constructed of horizontal courses of stone with fine joints and crowned with a semi-dome constructed of courses of stone arranged radially (Figs. 294 and 295). The front of the squinch occurs as a slightly pointed arch resting on a pair of columns as in the mihṛāb. The whole of the squinch is supported on three triangular corbels; two of them are under the corbels of the columns and the other one is on the corner. These corbels are adorned with suspended knobs (Fig. 295). There are four other niches on the axes of the square base. Each of these niches has

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1. Sauvaget, "Deux Sanctuaires", p. 233. The ceremony would be that of 'Āshūrā'.

a concave surface and is topped by a shell-shaped semi-dome. The octagonal zone is transformed into a hexadecagonal one by means of eight pendentives set on the corners of the octagon, showing some resemblance in this respect to the transition zone of al-Turba al-Ḥāfiẓiyya.<sup>1</sup> The transition zone is terminated by a circular cornice on which the smooth dome rises. The dome has been reconstructed by the S.D.A. with cut stone while Herzfeld's photographs taken before the explosion show that it was of brick.<sup>2</sup>

The other domed chamber ("b") to the east of the former one has a square base formed by four wide arches; the north one precedes an air shaft (Figs. 286 and 294). A photograph of Herzfeld's shows that this dome was built of brick,<sup>3</sup> but the S.D.A. have restored it with cut stone (Fig. 296). The transition zone of this dome is composed of two courses of mugarnases arranged in four groups and set on the four corners. These four groups meet others in the second course to form a circular base terminated by a circular cavetto cornice on which the smooth dome rests.

A similar style of dome construction is found in the semi-dome crowning the bay of the main entrance (Fig. 297). The front of the bay is crowned with a lobed arch and the area behind the arch is roofed by a mugarnas semi-dome crowned by a shell-shaped semi-dome (Figs. 297-298).

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1. See supra, p. 168 .

2. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", II, pl. C,b.

3. Ibid., II, Pl. C,a.

## Bibliography

Herzfeld "Aleppo", I, pp. 236-48 and II, Pls. XCIV-CI.

Sauvaget, "Inventaire", No. 20.

Idem, "Deux Sanctuaires", pp. 224-34.

Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 69-72.

al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., II, pp. 278f.

Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 151.

"Rep.", Nos. 3027, 3382 and 3483.

## Section 7.

Al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya

or

"Jāmi' al-Ma'rūf"

Al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya or, as it is known today, Jāmi' al-Ma'rūf, is situated on the bazār known as Sūq al-Darb.

Ibn Shaddād, who classifies the madrasa as a Ḥanafite one, states that it was founded by the prince Jamāl al-Dīn Shādhbākht who was originally an Indian slave. He was the governor of Aleppo under the reign of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. Ibn Shaddād then gives the list of its teachers. Among these teachers is Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abū Jarāda, the famous historian of Aleppo.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn al-Shihna adds nothing important to the history of this madrasa but he gives details of the appointment of his father and then of himself as teachers of this madrasa.<sup>2</sup>

The building is known today as Jāmi' al-Ma'rūf. It is said that al-Shaikh Ma'rūf, who is buried in a turba occupying the north-east corner of the madrasa was one of the Sūfī fighters of the Holy War<sup>3</sup> (fadāwiya<sup>4</sup>).

Ibn Shaddād mentions another madrasa of the same name, also founded by Shādhbākht, outside the walls.<sup>5</sup> However, this is a ruin. Both the madrasas were Ḥanafite.

1. Ibn Shaddād "Aleppo", pp. 113-4.

2. Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., p. 116.

3. Al-Ghuzzī, op.cit., II, p. 78.

4. On fidāwī, see EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Fidā'ī".

5. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", pp. 118-9.



The madrasa still bears inscriptions giving its date and identity. The oldest dated inscription is written over the main entrance. It consists of four lines and a medallion. It reads<sup>1</sup>:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وقف هذه المدرسة على اصحاب الامام الاعظم

سراج الامة<sup>2</sup> ابي حنيفة رضي الله عنه في ايام

الملك الظاهر غازي بن يوسف عز قصره العبد الفقير الي رحمة ربه<sup>3</sup>

شاذبخت عتيق الملك العادل محمود بن زنكي في سنة تسع وثمانين وخمسائة

The text in the medallion reads:

صنعة قاسم بن سعيد الفقير الى رحمة الله

"Basmala ... The slave who needs the mercy of his lord, Shādhbākht, the freedman of the just king Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, has founded this madrasa for the followers of the great īmām, the light of the nation Abū Ḥanīfa, may God forgive him, in the reign of al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī Ibn Yūsuf, may his victory be respected. That was in 589" (A.D. 1193).

The circular medallion which is below the former text bears the signature of the architect. It reads:

"made by Qāsim Ibn Sa'īd<sup>4</sup>, the one who needs the mercy of God".

There is another signature on the mihrāb of the prayer hall.

It probably represents the signature of the artist who made

1. On this inscription see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 256; "Rep." Nos. 3467 and 3468; Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 111.

2. Creswell has سراج المير

3. "Rep." has الى رحمة الله while it is, in fact, الى رحمة الله

4. Herzfeld suggests that this architect was probably the son of Sa'īd al-Maqdisī, the architect of the portal of the 'Shu'aibiya' ("Aleppo", I, p. 256).

the mihrāb. It reads

"Made by Abū 'l-Rajā and Abū 'Abd Allāh, the sons of Yahyā, may the mercy of God be upon him".

#### The Plan (Fig. 299)

The madrasa still retains most of its original plan. The entrance bay, which is part of the north façade, opens from the bazār and leads down several steps into a vestibule. This vestibule leads, nowadays, into an open courtyard. From a fragment of vaulting at the north-west corner of the courtyard and the springing of a small arch Creswell concludes that there was a vaulted arcade along the west side of the courtyard and that a row of cells opened from the west side of this arcade.<sup>2</sup>

All the units of the building are arranged around the central courtyard. A prayer hall lies along its south side. It opens into the courtyard by triple archways, but the middle one has been narrowed recently and converted into an entrance. There is a large īwān at the middle of the north side occupying almost the total width of this side. The east side of the ṣaḥn is occupied by a series of chambers and a passage in the middle leading into a row of small cells on its south side and to the turba on the north side (Fig. 299).

1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", p. 229. The signature of these two artists is found in Mashhad al-Ḥusain in Aleppo (ibid., I, p. 241).
2. Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", p. 12.

The entrance to this turba has been opened recently, after its original entrance, which was through the īwān, had been blocked up. This is not the only recent change. All the chambers of the east side have been demolished and a new turba has been added in the south-west corner. However, the principal features of a madrasa are still preserved: the entrance, the īwān and the prayer hall (Fig. 300).

### The Construction

Like most of the buildings of Aleppo built during this period, the entire building is constructed of cut stone without any coating of plaster. There are three kinds of vaulting in this madrasa: domes, domical vaults and barrel vaults. The dome is adopted in the entrance unit, in the prayer hall and in the turba. The domical vault is used in the īwān (Fig. 301) and in the lateral sides of the prayer hall. The barrel vault is used in the rest of the rooms and the passages of the building.

### The entrance unit:

The entrance bay is crowned with a mugarnas semi-dome surmounted with a shell-shaped semi-dome of eight sectors (Fig. 302). The vestibule, which is oblong, is transformed into a square base by means of a transverse arch set on its north side. This base is transformed, in turn, into a twelve-sided one by four pyramidal pendentives. Above the dodecagonal base rises a very low smooth dome (Fig. 303). The vestibule opens onto the courtyard through an archway crowned with a horse-shoe arch (Fig. 304) showing a likeness to certain arches of the Nūrid and the early Ayyūbid period

such as those of the turba of Nūr al-Dīn in al-Madrasa al-Nūriya, al-Turba al-‘Alā’iya and Turbat al-Daḥdāḥ.

The Prayer Hall: (Fig. 305)

The prayer hall, which is oblong in plan, opens onto the courtyard through the usual triple archways of the prayer halls in madrasas, mashhads, and other public buildings. It contains an elaborate and richly decorated miḥrāb which is one of the finest miḥrābs of this period in Aleppo (Figs. 305-306). It is made of stone slabs of different colours, a feature which is found in many other miḥrābs of this period. The prayer hall resembles those of the Nūrid period in Damascus and Aleppo in that it contains two doorways on each of the east and the west sides; these lead into lateral rooms. The hall is roofed by a dome over the central square bay in front of the miḥrāb while the lateral wings, which are less in width than that in the centre, are roofed with two domical vaults. The inner ends of these vaults appear as pointed arches forming by their meeting with the north and south walls the square base of the central dome (Figs. 305 and 307). The dome rests on a circular base marked with a cornice and inscribed within a regular octagonal base. The transition from the square base into the octagonal one is achieved by means of four pendentives which are a cross between pyramidal and spherical pendentives (Fig. 307). These pendentives meet at the axes of the square base but the points of meeting are disguised by decorative arch-shaped panels (Figs. 305 and 307).

Each of the corbels which are set over the corners of the octagonal base is decorated with a tiny suspended stone cylinder (Fig. 307). The dome is practically smooth but it is incised in such a form as to resemble the ribbed brickwork domes of Damascus.

The Turba: (Fig. 308)

The turba belongs to the same period as the madrassa. The same text as that over the main entrance of the madrassa is engraved on the lintel of the northern window of the turba, but without the signature of the architect. The turba is constructed on an oblong plan lying on a N.-S. axis with a window opening into the bazār. Its entrance, which is on the south side, was opened recently. The opening of this entrance and blocking of the original one were carried out after 1931, because this entrance does not exist in Sauvaget's plan which was published in that year.<sup>1</sup>

The turba is roofed by a dome over the central part flanked with two barrel vaults roofing the lateral sides (Figs. 308-309). The square base of the dome is formed by the inner ends of the lateral vaults and their meeting with the east and west sides of the turba. This base is terminated by a regular octagonal zone, formed by four pyramidal pendentives. This zone has eight small narrow windows. It is transformed into the sixteen-sided zone by means of eight lozenge-shaped bevelled corbels. This latter zone is crowned by a circular cornice on which the smooth dome rests.

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1. Sauvaget, "Inventaire", pl. 5.

This type of transition zone is to be found in some other domes; these will be discussed below.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 255-260.

Talas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 72-3.

Sauvaget, "Inventaire" No. 21.

Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 111.

Idem, "Cruciform Plan", pp. 11-12.

"Rep.", Nos. 3467, 3468 and 3469.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, pp. 114-5.

D. Sourdel, "Esquisse Topographique d'Alep intra muros à l'Époque Ayyoubide" A.A.S., II (1952), p. 116.

## Section 8.

## "Maqām al-Nabī Yūsha‘"

Maqām al-Nabī Yūsha‘ is situated on the southern outskirts of Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān.<sup>1</sup>

According to the inscription, the maqām was founded in 604/1207 but Herzfeld suggests that it was built on the site of a pre-Islamic shrine, basing his interpretation on the existence of some antique stones used in the building, such as the four columns of basalt with rustic capitals of Doric and Ionic style on the top of the minaret.<sup>2</sup> However, the plan and the nature of the building correspond with the date given in the inscription.

The maqām has been mentioned by the Arab historians and geographers, e.g. by Yāqūt<sup>3</sup> and Ibn Shaddād, who says "at Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān is, as they believe, the tomb of Yūsha‘ Ibn Nūn, peace be upon him, in a mashhad there which was rebuilt by al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī and to which he had given endowments at Ma‘arat al-Nu‘mān. When al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Fakhr al-Dīn Tūrānshāh was released from jail in Cairo he bought himself a piece of land at Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān and gave it as waqf to the above mentioned shrine".<sup>4</sup>

The rebuilding of the maqām is recorded on the tympanum of the main entrance. The inscription reads:

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1. Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān is a town in northern Syria between Aleppo and Ḥamā (see EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān" and Yāqūt op.cit., IV, pp. 574-6).
  2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 8.
  3. Yāqūt, op.cit., IV, p. 574.
  4. Cited from Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., p. 98.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر بعمله مولانا السلطان الملك الظاهر العالم  
 العادل المجاهد الم رابط المؤيد المظفر المنصور غياث الدنيا والدين  
 ملك الاسلام والمسلمين قانع الكفره والمشركين ناصر الخوارج والمتمردين  
 سيد الملوك والسلطين ابو المظفر الغازي بن الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف  
 بن ايوب ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله دولته وعوانه وايد ..... في سنة  
 اربع وستمائه بتولي العبد الفقير الى رحمة ربه مرشد بن سالم بن المهذب

"Basmala ... This is what was ordered to be built by al-Malik al-Zāhir, the scholar, the just, the fighter of the Holy War, the soldier, the supported (by God), the winner of the war, the victorious Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, King of Islam and the Muslims, the remover of the unbelievers and polytheists, the compeller of the revolutionaries and the rebellious, the lord of kings and sultāns Abū 'l-Muẓaffar Ghāzī Ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, the defender of the Commander of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his reign. .... In 604<sup>1</sup> under the supervision of the one who needs the mercy of his lord, Murshid Ibn Sālim Ibn al-Muḥadhdhib".

### The Plan (Fig. 310)

Superficially the plan of the building bears a resemblance to that of a madrasa. It contains the main features of a madrasa, an oblong prayer hall at the south side, an īwān and chambers. All the units of the building are arranged around a central courtyard. On the west side

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1. 1207 A.D.

is the entrance flanked with two rooms; there is a large īwān at the east side. This īwān has two openings so arranged as to correspond to the bay of the entrance, thus making the east and west sides symmetrical. The south side contains a prayer hall in the usual form found in madrasas and other public buildings of Aleppo, i.e. an oblong chamber opens into the courtyard by means of triple archways. This chamber is roofed by a dome flanked by two barrel vaults. According to Herzfeld's plan<sup>1</sup> there was a mihrāb in the middle of the south side. This mihrāb was later removed and was replaced by an entrance leading into a new hall built onto the south side of the prayer hall (Fig. 310).

The north side of the courtyard is occupied by a turba which is almost square in plan, flanked by two deep recesses on the east and west.

### The Construction

The nature of the building with most of its architectural features is very close to the characteristic Ayyūbid style of Aleppo and Northern Syria. The whole of the building, without exception, is constructed of cut stone on both the exterior and the interior.

The bay of the main entrance is roofed by a barrel vault on both the inside and the outside. Above the entrance rises an octagonal minaret surmounted by a small dome resting on four antique columns. The chamber at the N.W. corner is roofed by a cross vault.

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", Fig. 6.

The maqām has two very similar domes. One of these domes shelters the tomb chamber and the other is set over the central bay of the original prayer hall. The transition zone in each of the two domes consists of two stages, an octagonal drum and a sixteen-sided one. The octagonal drum is formed in the same way as that of the turba in al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya, being transformed from the square base by means of four pyramidal pendentives touching each other at the four axial points. This zone is transformed into a dodecagonal figure by four lozenge-shaped corbels set on the corners which are on the axes of the square base (Fig. 311). The dodecagonal zone is pierced by four windows arranged above the lozenge-shaped corbels.

The smooth dome rises over the dodecagonal zone on a circular base inscribed within that zone. A few original courses of the curve of the dome are still in situ at the S.W. side of the dome while the other parts have been rebuilt at some unknown date. The other dome roofing the central bay of the original prayer hall repeats closely, in its transition zone and the apparent form of the dome, the form of the turba. It differs from the turba in that it is set over a square area flanked by two barrel vaults.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 6-9.

## Section 9.

## Al-Madrassa al-Zāhiriya al-Barrāniya

Al-Madrassa al-Zāhiriya which is described also as al-Barrāniya - "outside the walls" - is situated to the south of al-Firdūs quarter (the Maqāmāt area) in Aleppo. Apart from the signature of its architect, it contains no inscription to fix its identity but its name has been passed down by oral tradition. Ibn Shaddād writes of this madrassa that it was founded by al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghīyāth al-Dīn Ghāzī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb and that it was completed in 616/1219. It was for the Shāfi'ites. Ibn Shaddād goes on to say that al-Zāhir Ghāzī built a turba beside the madrassa and that he devoted it to the kings and princes.<sup>1</sup> This statement is quoted word for word by Ibn al-Shihna.<sup>2</sup> It is known that al-Malik al-Zāhir died in 613/1216. The madrassa was therefore begun before that date.<sup>3</sup> We are told that there was a turba in the Maqāmāt quarter called al-Turba al-Zāhiriya in which al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Najm al-Dīn was buried in 606<sup>4</sup>/1209.

Al-Malik al-Zāhir, the founder of this madrassa, who died in 613/1216, was buried in his palace and his body was then transferred into his madrassa inside the walls of Aleppo.<sup>5</sup> This madrassa still exists and is called "al-Sultāniya".

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1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 107.

2. Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., p. 113.

3. Ibn Wāṣil, op.cit., III, p. 241.

4. Ibid., p. 198.

5. Ibid., p. 241.

### The Plan (Fig. 312)

Al-Madrasa al-Zāhiriya can be considered as one of the best preserved madrasas in Aleppo, for it has retained all its original features. It has an extensive courtyard surrounded on all sides with the units of the madrasa.

The south side of the courtyard is occupied by a prayer hall with a triple-arched façade preceded by a triple-arched portico. There are two doorways at the east side of the prayer hall leading into a dome chamber perhaps intended as a turba.<sup>1</sup> The west side is occupied by a row of four cells and an oblong chamber, lying on a N.-S. axis and roofed by three domes. The east side is occupied by a large īwān flanked with cells. The north side contains a triple-arched portico corresponding with the southern one and preceding three small īwāns. The middle one represents the interior bay of the entrance leading to another bay facing in the other direction. The N.-E. corner is occupied by lavatories while there are two cells and a staircase in the N.-W. angle.<sup>2</sup>

### The Construction

The entire building is constructed of smoothly cut stone with fine joints, all the façades are left uncovered (Fig. 313) and the domes are of brick. The main entrance of the madrasa is set in a rectangular bay crowned by a mugarnas semi-dome composed of three courses of mugarnases.

1. Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", p. 15; idem, "MAE", II, p. 113.

2. The two corners of the north side of the madrasa were badly ruined and their foundations were covered with debris during the visits of Herzfeld, Creswell and Sauvaget. These two parts are therefore not very clear in their plans.

The third course is crowned by a shell-shaped semi-dome of seven sectors. The whole of the complex is preceded by an arch with a rather wide soffit. The soffit and the front of this arch are decorated with geometrical intersections, and at the top of its extrados is the signature of the architect, Yūsuf,<sup>1</sup> engraved within a small panel (Figs. 314-315). All the small cells of the east and west sides of the courtyard are roofed by barrel vaults while the īwāns are roofed with domical vaults. The two porticoes in the north and south sides were probably roofed originally by flat ceilings.

There are seven domes in this madrasa. Three roof the prayer hall and three others roof the large chamber in the S.-W. corner, while the seventh is set over the chamber at the S.-E. corner (Fig. 316). At the middle of the south side the prayer hall has a concave mihrāb flanked with two columns with Corinthian capitals and bases.<sup>2</sup> The western column is missing (Figs. 317-318).

The oblong area of the prayer hall is divided into three equal square bays by means of two transverse arches. Each of these bays is crowned by a dome. The middle dome, that of the mihrāb, is distinguished by its height. The two lateral domes are alike. Each of them rests on a circular cornice set over an octagonal base. This base is formed by four pyramidal pendentives (Figs. 318-319).

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1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 275. This word is all that can be read of the signature.

2. Ibid., I, p. 274.

The transition zone of the middle dome is carried out in two stages. The first stage is the transforming of the square base into an octagonal one, which is performed by four pyramidal pendentives. On this octagonal base rise eight vertical walls forming a rather high zone. Each of the eight sides of this zone is pierced by a small window (Figs. 318 and 320). As in the turba of al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya the hexadecagonal zone is formed by means of eight lozenge-shaped bevelled corbels set on the corners of the octagonal zone. This cornice consists of successive concave and convex curves (Figs. 318 and 320). The dome, which was of baked brick, has collapsed.<sup>1</sup>

To the east of the prayer hall there is another type of dome. The chamber is oblong. The square base of the dome is effected by using two cornices set along the south and the north sides. The octagonal zone is formed by four squinches, each being an arch with a wide soffit at the top (Fig. 321) showing some resemblance to the forms of Mashhad al-Muḥassin, Room A. Four other relieving arches are set over the axes of the square base. The octagonal zone is transformed into the sixteen-sided one by means of eight lozenge-shaped corbels, and this zone is crowned with a circular cornice from which the dome rises. The dome was smooth and constructed of brick. It has

1. According to the section of the three domes of the prayer hall drawn by Herzfeld ("Aleppo", II, Pl. CXVIII.b.) the west dome of the prayer hall is ruined and the middle one is preserved. In fact the contrary is true; the middle one is ruined and the two lateral domes are well preserved.



collapsed leaving only fragments of its curve on the east and west sides. There are traces of two windows splayed on all sides set on the springing line of the dome, above the squinches of the west side. They open from the exterior of the west side via door-shaped openings. The existence of these two windows is the reason for the exterior of the transition zone being right-angled and not octagonal on the west side alone.

To the west of the prayer hall lies a rather long chamber. It can be entered by three openings: an entrance from the prayer hall, another entrance from the portico and a third entrance from the courtyard. Like the prayer hall, this chamber is divided into three square bays by two transverse arches, and these bays are roofed with three domes. The middle dome differs from the lateral ones (Figs. 316 and 322). Each of the two lateral domes rests on a dodecagonal base and the transition zone from the square base into the dodecagonal one is formed by four pyramidal pendentives, each being a section of a twelve-sided pyramid (Figs. 322-323). This zone is terminated by a cavetto moulding on which the brick dome rests. Both of the two lateral domes are well preserved while the middle one is ruined leaving only its transition zone and some of the brick courses of its curve. Basically, the transition zone of the middle dome consists of two stages. The transition from the square base into the octagonal one is carried out by setting up four groups of mugarnases at the corners, each containing four courses (Figs. 316, 322 and 324). The octagonal base

is marked by a cavetto cornice on which the sixteen-sided zone rests. It is composed of sixteen mugarnases, alternately open and blind (Figs. 322-324).

The few remaining courses of brickwork at the springing of the dome show that the dome was adorned with a frieze depicting a key pattern.<sup>1</sup> It runs around the springing of the dome (Fig. 325). This pattern could not be adapted to fit into the whole of the dome; it was most probably made up of two alternating courses as shown in Figure 326. The debris of the dome on the ground contains two kinds of brick: a trapezoid type measuring 26-31 x 41 x 5cm. and a rectangular type measuring 15 x 26 x 5. This implies that the dome had walls 41cm. thick composed of alternating courses of the two kinds of brick.<sup>2</sup>

The exteriors of the transition zones of this dome and the middle one in the prayer hall appear as octagons pierced with eight windows. The other lateral domes rise directly from the ceiling level.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 273-6.

Creswell, "Cruciform Plan" P. 15.

Idem, "MAE", II, pp. 112-3.

Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 79-80.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 107.

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1. This kind of brick-laying is called hazārbāf by Herzfeld, ("Aleppo", I, p. 274). This technique does not occur elsewhere in Syria in the Ayyūbid period.
  2. A similar technique was used in Adad Gate in Nineveh. It is unique among Ayyūbid buildings in Syria.

Al-Ghuzzī, op.cit., II, pp. 299-300.

A. Sāṭi, "Al-Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriya fī Ḥalab" A.A.S.,  
XV ( 1965 ), pp. 47-54.

S.D.A. File No. 22 (Aleppo).

J. Sauvaget, "Alep" (Paris, 1941), p. 148.

Idem , "Inventaire", No. 26.

## Section 10.

Al-Madrasa al-Sultāniya<sup>1</sup>

Al-Madrasa al-Sultāniya, which is called also al-Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriya al-Jawāniya - "inside the walls" - is situated in the Qal'ā quarter just opposite the main gate of the castle of Aleppo.<sup>2</sup> It was a madrasa for both the Shāfi'ītes and the Hanafites and was founded by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī. However, the latter died in 613/1216 before finishing it. The madrasa was then completed by Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭughril, the atābik of al-Malik al-'Azīz, in 620/1223.<sup>3</sup> Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād was the first person who taught in this madrasa.<sup>4</sup> The building remained as a madrasa until the Xth/XVI century when it was converted to serve other purposes.<sup>5</sup> The madrasa was founded originally to contain the turba of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, which is still there. It was a common custom among the rulers of Aleppo to found two madrasas, one of them inside the walls and the other outside the walls of the city.<sup>6</sup> Although the internal Ẓāhiriya is smaller than the external one, it was the one chosen to

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1. A good study of this madrasa is published by J. Lauffray, "Une Madrasa Ayyoubide de la Syrie du Nord", A.A.S. III (1953), pp. 50-66.
  2. Sourdel, op.cit., p. 111.
  3. Ibn Shaddād "Aleppo", p. 103; Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit. p. 112. The latter gives the date 630/1233 which is probably a misprint because the actual date, 620/1223, is given in the inscription on the entrance.
  4. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 103.
  5. Al-Ghuzzī, op.cit., II, p. 125.
  6. Lauffray, op.cit., p. 50.

contain the tomb of the founder, al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, probably to keep his tomb in a place safe from desecration during the expected blockade of the city.

The building was largely ruined before its restoration by the S.D.A. which started in 1944 with the re-erection of the east and west sides. Restoration work is still going on. The madrasa still retains two inscriptions dating from the period when it was founded. One of them is engraved in the entrance bay and the other text is repeated three times on the windows of the turba of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī.

The inscription which is in the entrance bay reads:<sup>1</sup>

— بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ، IX, 18 koran ، هذه مدرسة تقدم بعمارتها  
وانشائها في أيام السلطان الملك الظاهر غازي بن السلطان الملك الناصر  
صلاح الدين ومنقذ بيت المقدس من ايدي الكفار اسكنهما الله  
— محال رضوانه وبجراح جنانه وخلد سلطان الملك العزيز والهمه العدل  
والانصاف اُنشأها اتابكه وولي امره وكافل دولته القائم بقوانينها  
وحرسه العبد الفقير الى رحمة ربه الجليل شهاب الدين ابو سعيد طغريل  
بن عبد الله الملكي الظاهري تقبل الله منه قبرته واجزل على ما تقرب به  
عطيه وعظم جزاؤه ومشوبته مدرسة للفريقين ومقرا للمشاركين بعلوم الشريعة  
من الطائفتين  
— الشافعية والحنفية والمجتهدين في الاشتغال السالكين طريقة الاخبار  
الامثال الذين يعينهم المدرس بها من الفريقين مشتملة على مسجد لله  
تعالى ومشهد فيه مدفن السلطان الملك الظاهر قدس الله روحه ودور ضريحه

1. On this inscription see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 279-280; "Rep.", No. 3895; Creswell, "Cruciform Plan" pp. 6-7; al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., II, p. 125; Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 141; R. Ṭabbākh, "A'lām al-Nubalā' bi Tārīkh Ḥalab al-Shahbā'" (Aleppo, 1921), II, p. 222.

لينال ثواب قراءة العلم ودراسته وبركة القرآن وتلاوته فجزاه الله افضل  
جزاء على الوفاء بعهد صحبته وقضاء حوائد انعمه

- وشرط فيها اتاه الله ان يكون المدرس بها شافعي المذهب والامام للصلاة  
في مسجدها شافعي المذهب وكذلك المؤذن ويرتب بها قارئاً يتصدر لاقراء الناس  
القرآن العظيم ويلقئها لهم على الوجه المرضي لله وقد استوفيت الشروط في  
كتاب الوقف المبارك ..... كل مولى وناصر وسلطان ..... يقرر قواعده  
على ما شرطه الواقف اتاه الله تعالى ويمضي على وجه ابتغاء لمرضاة  
- الله ورجاء لجزيل ثوابه (Koran ,II , 181 ) كان انتهاء عمارتها في شهر  
سنة عشرين وستمائة .

"Basmala ... This madrasa was ordered to be built in the  
reign of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī Ibn al-Sulṭān  
al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, he who delivered  
the sacred house of God from the hands of the infidels, may  
God offer them both his blessed heaven and may God perpetuate  
the reign of al-Malik al-'Azīz and offer him justice and  
equity. It was built by his atābik, his regent, he who  
needs the mercy of his Almighty Lord, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū  
Sa'īd Ṭughrīl Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Malakī al-Zāhirī, may God  
accept his gift and reward him for that<sup>1</sup>...He built it as  
a madrasa for the two madhhabs and as a centre for the  
scholars of law of both the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanafites who  
devote their time to science, who model their conduct on  
the best examples, and for those who have been chosen by its<sup>2</sup>  
teacher. It contains a mosque and a turba in which is

1. For a translation of the lengthy invocations which follow, see "Rep.", No. 3895.
2. I.e. of the madrasa.

buried the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir, may God sanctify his soul and illuminate his tomb, may God give him the reward of the reading of science as well as the blessing of the Koran and its recitation. God has given him the best recompense and he has gained His favour. He decided that the teacher, the īmām who makes the prayer in its mosque and the mu'adhdhin must be Shāfi'ites. A reader must be appointed to check the people's reading of the Koran and teach it to them in the best way. The conditions of waqf have been listed in the blessed deed of waqf.....Koran II,181. The completion of its building was in the months of 620" (A.D. 1223).

There is another inscription repeated three times on the three windows of the turba. Each of these texts (Fig. 327) reads:<sup>1</sup>

— هذه تربة السلطان الملك الظاهر غازي بن الملك الناصر صلاح  
— الدين منقذ بيت المقدس من ايدي الكافرين قدس الله روحهما  
ورحم من ترحم عليهما .

"This is the turba of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, he who delivered the sacred house from the hands of the infidels, may God sanctify their souls and bless them and bless those who pray for them."

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1. On this inscription see Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 278; "Rep.", No. 3893; Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 141; Ṭabbākh, op.cit., II, p. 224; al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., II, p. 126.



The Plan (Fig. 328)

The building was mostly in ruins at the beginning of this century. Many plans of it had been published before the excavations of 1944,<sup>1</sup> but none of these plans showed details of the east and west sides. As the madrassa is of two madhhabs Creswell suggested that it should have two iwāns set at the middle of each of the east and west sides.<sup>2</sup>

The excavations of 1944 disclosed two rows of cells occupying the east and the west sides, and the plan shows no trace of an iwān.<sup>3</sup> Like all the madrasas of Aleppo, this has an open courtyard with a basin in the middle and all the units of the madrassa are arranged around this courtyard. The south side of the courtyard is occupied by the prayer hall. This originally opened into the courtyard through three archways, but the lateral openings were converted into windows and the middle one now contains the entrance and two windows. This conversion was probably made when the building was taken over as a mosque at the beginning of the Ottoman period. The turba, which occupies the S.-E. corner of the building, is square with four recesses of unusual form. Each of the north and the south recesses (I and H in the plan) contains an air shaft. In the western end of the south recess (L) there is a walled-up tunnel. According to oral tradition it must have led to

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1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", II, Pl. CXXIII; Sauvaget, "Inventaire", No. 23; Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", Fig. 5.
  2. Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", p. 15.
  3. Lauffray, op.cit., p. 51.

the castle.<sup>1</sup> The east recess, which is exceptionally deep, has three windows. There are four tombs in the turba, none of which bears an inscription or any other decoration.

### The Construction

The prayer hall, the turba and the entrance are the best preserved units of the madrasa. The east and the west sides were occupied by small cells in two tiers, making 42 rooms, and so 40-50 people could easily have been lodged in the madrasa.<sup>2</sup> Like the other contemporary buildings of Aleppo, this madrasa is constructed of cut stone in both the exterior and the interior. All the interior of the prayer hall is covered with a coating of plaster.<sup>3</sup> The middle part of the southern side of the prayer hall, which is deeply recessed, contains a highly decorated mihrāb (Figs. 229-230). Basically it follows that of al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya. Architecturally, the prayer hall resembles that of al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya, being roofed by a dome set over the central area and flanked with two domical vaults. The construction of the dome itself shows some differences from that of Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya. It is plastered on both the exterior and the interior and it is thus hard to determine its material, but most probably it is

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1. Lauffray, op.cit., p. 55.

2. Ibid., p. 58.

3. The lower parts of the interior of the prayer hall were not plastered in 1952, the time of Lauffray's study.

made of brick. The octagonal base of the dome is formed by means of four pyramidal pendentives (Figs. 331-2). The walls of the turba are still unplastered. The recesses are roofed by vaults, while the square central area is topped by a dome. This dome rests on a circular base converted from the square one by means of four pyramidal pendentives (Figs. 332-333).

The entrance to the building is set in a rectangular bay at the middle of the north side. Like the lateral sides of the prayer hall this bay is roofed by a domical vault. Above the entrance stands a minaret which was added later. It probably dates to 874/1459, one of the dated restorations of the madrassa.<sup>1</sup>

#### Bibliography

- Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 276-282.  
 "Rep.", Nos. 3893, 3895.  
 Sauvaget, "Inventaire", No. 23.  
 Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 74-7.  
 Lauffray, op.cit., pp. 50-66.  
 Sourdel, op.cit., p. 111.  
 Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", pp. 6-7 and 15-16.  
 Idem, "MAE", II, pp. 114-6.  
 Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, pp. 105-6.  
 Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 141.  
 Al-Ghuzzī, op.cit., II, pp. 123-5.  
 R. Ṭabbākh, "A'lām al-Nubalā' bi Tārīkh Ḥalab al-Shahbā'" (Aleppo, 1921), II, pp. 222f.  
 Ṣaouaf, "Aleppo", pp. 74-6.  
 S.D.A. File No. 30 (Aleppo).

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1. See Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 381-2.

## Section 11.

## Al-Firdūs

Al-Firdūs is an aggregation of a madrasa, a ribāt<sup>1</sup> and a turba situated at the south side of al-Maqāmāt quarter in the Firdūs area. It is the largest and the best preserved madrasa in Syria. The Arab historians, who classify this madrasa among those of the Shāfi'ite madhhab, state that this building was founded as a madrasa, a ribāt and a turba by Ḍaifa Khātūn, the daughter of al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn.<sup>2</sup> Ḍaifa Khātūn became the regent of Aleppo twice; the first time was after the death of her husband al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī in 613/1216, and the second was after the death of her son al-Malik al-'Azīz in 634/1232. She was born in 582/1186 and died in 640/1242.<sup>3</sup>

The building bears many inscriptions and most of these inscriptions consist of expressions of Ṣūfī character, particularly a band which runs along the interior sides of the building.<sup>4</sup> This inscription ends with the following text:<sup>5</sup>

— هذا ما انشأته الستر الرفيع والحجاب المنيع عصمة الدنيا والدين ضيفه  
خاتون بنت السلطان الملك العادل والدة السلطان الملك العزيز بن الملك  
الظاهر في أيام مولانا السلطان الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف  
بن ايوب ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه .

1. See EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Ribāt". This building is the only certain surviving Ayyūbid ribāt in Syria.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 108; Ibn al-Shiḥna, op.cit., p. 113.

3. On Ḍaifa Khātūn see Ṭabbākh, op.cit., II, p. 261.

4. On this inscription see Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 85-7.

5. Cf. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 297; "Rep." No. 4086; Ṭabbākh, op.cit., II, p. 265.

"This is what was founded by the high and protected veil 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, Ḍaifa Khātūn, the daughter of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-'Ādil, the mother of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-'Azīz Ibn al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, in the reign of our Lord the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, the defender of the Commander of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his state."

Another band of inscription is engraved on the east façade of the building. It is almost of the same style as the interior one and it gives the precise date of the building, which is 633/1235. It reads:<sup>1</sup>

— بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ (Koran, XLIII, 68-72) هَذَا مَا أَمَرَ بِأَنْشَاءِ السُّتْرِ  
الرَّفِيعِ وَالْحِجَابِ الْمُنِيعِ الْمَلِكَةِ الرَّحِيمَةِ عَصْمَةَ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدِينَ ضَيْفَةَ خَاتُونِ  
ابْنَةِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ الْعَادِلِ سَيْفِ الدِّينِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ بْنِ أَيُّوبَ تَغْمَدَهُمُ اللَّهُ بِرَحْمَتِهِ  
وَذَلِكَ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ النَّاصِرِ الْعَالِمِ الْعَادِلِ الْمُجَاهِدِ الْمُرَابِّ  
الْمُوَيْدِ الْمُظْفَرِ الْمَنْصُورِ صَلَاحِ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدِينَ يَوْسُفَ بْنِ الْمَلِكِ الْعَزِيزِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ  
الْمَلِكِ الظَّاهِرِ غَازِي بْنِ يَوْسُفَ بْنِ أَيُّوبَ نَاصِرِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَزَّ نَصْرُهُ بِتَوَلِّيهِ  
الْفَقِيرِ عَبْدَ الْمُحْسَنِ الْعَزِيزِيِّ النَّاصِرِيِّ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثَةِ وَثَلَاثِينَ وَسِتْمِائَةِ

"This is what was ordered to be founded by the high and protected veil, the merciful queen, 'Iṣmat al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn, Ḍaifa Khātūn, the daughter of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-'Ādil Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn Ayyūb, may God bless them. That was in the reign of our Lord the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the scholar, the just, the fighter of the Holy War, the soldier, the supported (by God), the triumphant, the

1. On this inscription see "Rep." No. 4084; Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 150; Ṭabbākh, op.cit., loc.cit.; al-Ghuzzī, op.cit., II, p. 292.

victorious, Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Malik al-  
 'Azīz Muḥammad Ibn al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn  
 Ayyūb, the defender of <sup>the</sup> Commander of the Faithful, may his  
 victory be mighty. That was under the supervision of the  
 slave, he who needs the mercy of God, 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-'Azīzī  
 al-Nāṣirī, may God bless him, in 633" (A.D. 1235).

#### The Plan (Fig. 334)

The plan of the building as a whole comprises three individual units. The south part, which is said to have been the ribāṭ, consists of an open courtyard surrounded by three porticoes on the east, the west and the south. The whole of the north side is occupied by a large īwān. These porticoes show a development from those of al-Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriya. A triple archway opens into each of the three porticoes; in each case it leads into an oblong chamber. The southern chamber is the prayer hall. This hall is roofed by three domes, as are the two other chambers which are to the east and west of the courtyard. Both of these two sides have been taken over as cemeteries. These two chambers were, presumably, the ribāṭ. In addition to these, there are two domed chambers at the S.-W. and the S.-E. corners. Probably they were originally turbas.

The north part of the building contains an aggregate of three units. There are two īwāns set back to back in the middle; the south one opens into the courtyard while the north one opens outwards (Fig. 335). The area in front of this īwān used to be the gardens of the madrasa. From here



the water for the ablutions basin was supplied by means of a ditch.<sup>1</sup>

Comparing the position of this īwān with that of the īwān opening northwards outside the courtyard in al-Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriya in Baghdād, it can be concluded that this īwān was originally used for reading the Koran.<sup>2</sup> These two īwāns are flanked by two units each consisting of a small courtyard with two īwāns, a large one faced by a small one, and a group of cells arranged around the courtyard. To the south of the eastern units is the corridor of the entrance leading into the N.-E. corner of the central courtyard. One of these units, which were built as individual houses, each with its own courtyard and a small īwān, was presumably a house for the administrator of the madrasa and the other was a kitchen. The madrasa itself must have occupied the central part along with the ribāṭ.

### The Construction

As in the other buildings of Aleppo in this period, cut stone is employed for both the exterior and the interior, without plaster (Fig. 336). Brick is employed in all the domes and the vaults of the building except the dome which

1. Ṭalas, op.cit., p. 85.

2. Al-Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriya contains an īwān opening outwards facing the north and this served as a Dār al-Koran or for reading of the Koran (N. Ma'rūf, "Tārīkh 'Ulamā' al-Mustanṣiriya" (Baghdad, 1965 2nd ed.) II, p. 304. The reason is to keep the readers of the Koran, who are usually children, far away from the centre of the building.



roofs the central bay of the prayer hall, this being constructed entirely of cut stone. The central part of the building, which is arranged around the central courtyard, contains eleven domes (Fig. 334). All of these domes, with the exception of the central dome of the prayer hall, are constructed to the same design. Each of them rests on a dodecagonal base formed by four pyramidal pendentives set on the corners of the square base. Each of these pendentives is a section of a dodecagonal pyramid (Fig. 337).

As in some other buildings of Aleppo,<sup>1</sup> the central dome of the prayer hall is distinguished by its height and by its different design. The square base is transformed into a dodecagonal one by means of four groups of rather complicated mugarnases, each having four courses (Figs. 338-339). A dodecagonal zone is set over this base; it has twelve windows and is in turn transformed at the top into a 24-sided figure by means of lozenge-shaped corbels. The dome rests on this zone.

The exterior of this dome rests on a dodecagonal zone topped by a bevelled cornice surmounting a square base which rises over the roof level of the other units of the building (Fig. 340). This dome shelters an elaborately decorated mihrāb which is one of the most famous mihrābs of Aleppo. It follows closely those of al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya and al-Madrassa al-Sultāniya, and to some extent that of Khānqah al-Farāfra. It is a concave mihrāb flanked by two

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1. Mashhad al-Muḥassin, Mashhad al-Ḥusain, al-Madrassa al-Zāhiriya al-Barrāniya and al-Madrassa al-Kāmiliya.

columns. The concave part of the mihrāb and the two sides of its elevation are decorated with vertical panels filled with stone of various colours. The upper façade of the mihrāb is adorned with interlaced arches with their centres arranged around the front of the semi-dome covering the concave surface. These arches are connected with geometrically intersecting bands filling the spandrels of the façade of the mihrāb (Fig. 341). The whole of this complex is crowned with another panel of geometrical interlaced bands surrounded with a band of inscription consisting of verses from the Koran.<sup>1</sup>

The main entrance, which is at the east side of the building, is set in a rectangular bay topped by a semi-dome of muqarnases. It is constructed with three courses of muqarnases crowned by a shell-shaped semi-dome of eight sectors (Figs. 342-343).

#### Bibliography

- Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 297-302.  
 Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", p. 16.  
Idem, "MAE", II, p. 116.  
 Saouaf, "Aleppo", pp. 68-73.  
 Sauvaget, "Inventaire", No. 31.  
Idem, "Alep", p. 148.  
 Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 84-8.  
 Al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., II, pp. 289-290.  
 "Rep.", Nos. 4084 and 4086.  
 Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, pp. 107-8.  
 Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 150.

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1. Koran, XXXVIII, 16-21.

## Section 12.

## Khānqāh al-Farāfra

This building, which is known nowadays as Khānqāh<sup>1</sup> al-Farāfra, is situated in the Farāfra quarter to the north of the castle of Aleppo. The quarter was so called after the tribe of Farfūr which settled there.<sup>2</sup>

The building bears an inscription proclaiming its date and identity. It is engraved in five lines within a panel set over the main entrance (Fig. 344). It reads:<sup>3</sup>

— بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَقَالُوا الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَذْهَبَ عَنَّا الْحَزْنَ إِنَّ رَبَّنَا  
— لَغَفُورٌ شَكُورٌ الَّذِي أَحَلَّنَا دَارَ الْمَنَافَةِ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ لَا يَمَسُّنَا فِيهَا نَصَبٌ  
— وَلَا يَمَسُّنَا فِيهَا لُغُوبٌ أُنشِئْ هَذَا الرِّبَاطَ الْمُبَارَكَ فِي أَيَّامِ مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانَ  
— الْمَلِكِ النَّاصِرِ صَلَاحِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ يَوْسُفَ بْنِ الْمَلِكِ الْعَزِيزِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ الْمَلِكِ الظَّاهِرِ  
— غَازِي بْنِ يَوْسُفَ بْنِ أَيُّوبَ نَاصِرِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَثَلَاثِينَ  
— وَسِتِّمِائِهِ .

"Basmala ... Koran XXXV, 33-34. This blessed ribāṭ was built in the reign of our lord the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dunyā wa' l-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ibn al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, the defender of the Commander of the Faithful, during the months of 635 " (A.D. 1237).

From the lists of khānqāhs and ribāṭs given by Ibn Shaddād we learn that al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn II

1. On khānqāh see EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Architecture".

2. On this quarter see Ṭabbākh, op.cit., V, p. 25; Ṭalas "Al-Āthār", p. 88.

3. On this inscription see Herzfeld "Aleppo", I, p. 303; "Rep." No. 4145; al-Ghuzzī, op.cit., II, p. 147; Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 142.

did not find any ribāṭ or khānqāh, though the inscription does say that the building was founded in his reign. In 635/1237 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn II was three years of age and his mother Ḍaifa Khātūn, founder of al-Firdūs, held the regency. Herzfeld concludes that the khānqāh was built by Ḍaifa Khātūn and that it is probably the one founded for women inside Bāb al-Arbaʿīn opposite the mosque of al-Shaikh al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ustād<sup>1</sup>. He bases his interpretation on the information given by Ibn Shaddād about the founders, the location and dates of the madrasas and khānqāhs.<sup>2</sup> Bāb al-Arbaʿīn (the Gate of al-Arbaʿīn) was just to the east of the khānqāh.<sup>3</sup>

Ṭabbākh gives a quotation from the MS. of Abū Dharr, who calls the building al-Khānqāh al-ʿĀdiliya, saying that it was built by Ḍaifa Khātūn, the daughter of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Saif al-Dīn and the mother of al-Malik al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad. It is inside Bāb al-Arbaʿīn, and an inscription on its entrance shows that it was built in 635/1237.<sup>4</sup> The khānqāh is also called al-Khānqāh al-Nāṣirī, presumably after al-Malik al-Nāṣir,<sup>5</sup> the honorific of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf II. The inscription still in situ over the entrance, however, does not allude to a khānqāh but it says expressly that the building was a ribāṭ.

1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 304.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", pp. 26, 96, 108 and 120.

3. Sourdél, op.cit., Fig. 2.

4. Ṭabbākh, op.cit., V, p. 25.

5. Al-Ghuzzī, op.cit., II, p. 147.

The distinction between khānqāh and ribāṭ in Syria is very obscure and they seem to be two terms for one kind of building; khānqāh is a Persian term composed of khān and gāh (place),<sup>1</sup> while ribāṭ, which is an Arabic term, was originally a military establishment.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Firdūs, which is the only other surviving building in this period referred to as a ribāṭ, has a rather different plan from that of Khānqāh al-Farāfra, though it does share the same elements of īwān, courtyard and prayer hall. On the other hand, Khānqāh al-Farāfra has a plan similar to that of the typical madrasa. But since this is the only surviving khānqāh in Ayyūbid Syria it is difficult to draw conclusions about the architectural forms of ribāṭs and khānqāhs in Syria during this period.

#### The Plan (Fig. 345)

The plan of the building, as suggested above, is not very different from that of a madrasa. There is a courtyard, with an octagonal basin and with the other units arranged around it. A large īwān stands in the middle of the north side; a prayer hall lies along the south side with the usual triple archway. Each of the east and west sides is occupied by a series of rooms on two storeys. There is a doorway at the middle of the east side leading into an annexe consisting of a central hall roofed by a domical

1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 302.

2. EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Ribāṭ".

vault surrounded by rooms on all sides. This part, which was ruined and full of debris at the time of Herzfeld's visit,<sup>1</sup> is still in the same state and it is very hard to make a good plan of it.

The plan of the prayer hall (Fig. 346) closely resembles the usual plan of prayer halls attached to Ayyūbid madrasas,<sup>2</sup> being oblong and opening into the courtyard by means of three archways, the middle one wider than the others. The mihrāb, which is at the centre of the south side, resembles that of al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya. It is flanked by two right-angled recesses; there are two other recesses on each of the east and west sides. The eastern ones presumably used to lead into an adjacent chamber<sup>3</sup> but nowadays they are blocked up, serving as cupboards. At some unknown date the west part of the prayer hall was separated from the main part of the hall by a partition so as to serve as a room.

### The Construction

The main entrance to the building, which is at the north side, is set within a bay roofed by a semi-dome composed of two zones of mugarnases crowned with a small semi-dome. This small semi-dome is decorated with intersecting geometrical patterns (Figs. 347-348). Apart from the dome of the prayer hall, the entire building is

1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 304.

2. Cf. al-Madrassa al-Ẓāhiriya, al-Madrassa al-Sulṭāniya, al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya, al-Madrassa al-Sharafiya, al-Madrassa al-Kāмилиya and al-Firdūs.

3. They are drawn thus in Herzfeld's plan, but they are closed in the plan drawn by Sauvaget ("Inventaire", No.32).



constructed of cut stone.

Barrel vaults are employed in roofing the īwān and most of the other rooms of the khānqāh. The roofing system of the prayer hall corresponds basically with those of Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal, al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya and al-Madrasa al-Sulṭāniya, being composed of a central dome - which is set over the bay of the mihrāb - flanked by two barrel vaults (Figs. 345 and 349). The inner ends of the lateral vaults and the central arch of the northern façade bear vertical walls which together with the south wall form the square base of the dome. This base is notable for its exceptional height. The transition zone to the octagonal drum employs four groups of muqarnasa set on the corners in three courses (Figs. 349-350). The eight sides of the octagonal zone are pierced by small windows. This zone is transformed into a sixteen-sided one by means of lozenge-shaped corbels set on the corners at the top of the octagonal zone (Figs. 349-350). A cavetto cornice terminates the transition zone, and from this the smooth dome rises. It is constructed of baked bricks measuring 26 x 17 x 4cm.

As to the exterior, it is strange to see that the minimum thickness of the lateral vaults is 2.20m. Even the exterior of the transition zone of the dome is hidden by the mass of the roof of the vaults. The windows are kinked, opening upwards after a right-angled turn (Fig. 349). This disposition is necessitated by the extraordinary thickness of the vaults. Externally, the dome rests on an octagonal base which rises only a few centimetres from the roof level.



of the lateral vaults. The reason for the excessive thickness of the vaults is probably the height of the eastern and western sides of the khānqāh which are of two stories. The thickness of the vaults is designed to raise the upper level of the roof of the prayer hall level with the roof of the two sides.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 302-5.

"Rep.", No. 4145.

Ṭabbākh, op.cit., V, pp. 25-6.

Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 88-90.

Saouaf, "Aleppo", p. 76.

Al-Ghuzzi, op.cit., II, p. 147.

Bīshūf, op.cit., p. 142.

Sauvāget, "Alep", pp. 149-50.

Idem , "Inventaire", No. 32.

## Section 13.

## Al-Madrasa al-Sharafiya

This madrasa stands in Suwaiqat Ḥātim, some metres from the N.-E. corner of the Great Mosque of Aleppo. There is some disagreement about the date of this building. According to Herzfeld, who bases his argument on statements of Ibn al-Shihna,<sup>1</sup> the madrasa was built between 595/1199 and 631/1234.<sup>2</sup> He did not refer to Ibn Shaddād (whose work was published fairly recently<sup>3</sup>) who states that it was built a few years before the Mongol invasion in 658/1260. Ibn Shaddād classifies the madrasa among those of the Shāfi'ite madhhab, and writes that it was founded by the shaikh, the imām Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abd al-Raḥīm, known as Ibn al-'Ajmī. He spent 400,000 dirhams on its construction and he endowed it with splendid waqf. His son Muḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad taught in this madrasa until he was killed by the Mongols after they captured Aleppo, and no-one taught there before him. As to the Shaikh Sharaf al-Dīn, the above-mentioned founder, he was killed after the Mongol invasion of Aleppo in 24 Ṣafar 658/29th January 1260. He was buried in a turba built by him in the north side of the madrasa, having willed that his body should be buried there.<sup>4</sup> Creswell dates the building around 640/1242.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., pp. 107 and 114.

2. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 313.

3. It was published in Damascus in 1953 by D. Sourdel.

4. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 106.

5. "MAE", II, p. 116.

Kurd 'Alī is the only one who mentions that there was an iron awning set over its well with an inscription saying that it was made in 640/1242,<sup>1</sup> which agrees with the statement of Ibn Shaddād.

The madrasa lacks any inscription. A frieze was prepared to receive the inscription, but it was never engraved. Nevertheless, from the statements above one can conclude that the madrasa was built about 640/1242. The building was in a somewhat dilapidated condition at the time of Creswell's visit to Aleppo<sup>2</sup> and the restoration by the administration of waqf in 1343/1924<sup>3</sup> distorted it further. Only the main entrance and the prayer hall still survive from the original building.

#### Plan and Construction (Fig. 352)

The madrasa, which serves at present as a library belonging to the Ministry of Waqf, is entered by a muqarnas portal in the centre of the west side opening into the courtyard. Apart from the main entrance and the prayer hall, there are hardly any traces of the original foundation, but according to the plan made by Creswell in 1919, it followed the typical plan of the Syrian madrasa. It had a courtyard with a basin in the middle. The east side was occupied by an īwān flanked by two chambers. There were porticoes along the west and the north sides; these led to

1. Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 106. No text or photograph of this vanished inscription is available.

2. Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", p. 16.

3. On this restoration see Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., loc.cit.

the students' cells.<sup>1</sup> The prayer hall with its usual triple façade occupies the south side of the courtyard. Its triple-arched façade is now completely concealed by a modern façade (Fig. 353). The prayer hall follows in its plan that of Khānqāh al-Farāfra, being oblong with three archways opening into the courtyard. There is a concave mihrāb at the middle of the south side flanked by two right-angled recesses. The mihrāb is made of stone but it is hard to determine its original colour because it is all painted. The semi-dome of the mihrāb is decorated with intersecting geometrical patterns (Fig. 354). It bears a blessing on those who erected the mihrāb: رَحِمَ اللهُ النَّصَبَةَ - "may God bless the setters." The square bay in front of the mihrāb is roofed by a dome of unusual design while the two lateral bays are roofed by domical vaults.

The dome is a cross between a ribbed and a muqarnas dome (Figs. 353, 355 and 356). All the interior of the prayer hall has been covered recently by a coating of plaster; this was probably done during the restoration of 1924. The dome is composed of three courses of muqarnases terminated by a dentated circle of sixteen points. The whole of this structure is crowned by a ribbed dome bearing a certain resemblance to those of Damascus.

Owing to the frequent coatings of plaster on the exterior of the dome, it is very hard at the moment to know what its original profile was.

The muqarnas semi-dome of the portal was largely

1. Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", p. 16.

destroyed at an unknown date and rebuilt at some time after Herzfeld's visit, when it was replaced by another muqarnas semi-dome built according to a design which differs from the original one. Herzfeld suggests that the original semi-dome was like that of al-Madrasa al-Kāmiliya<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 357). The entrance still bears the signature of the architect, Abū 'l-Thanā' Ibn Yāqūt.

#### Bibliography

Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 312-5.

Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", pp. 7-8 and 16-23.

Idem , "MAE", II, pp. 116-8.

Sauvaget, "Inventaire", No. 33.

Ṭalas, "Al-Āthār", pp. 90-1.

Al-Ghuzzī, op.cit., II, pp. 268-9.

Ṭabbākh, op.cit., I, p. 455.

Kurd 'Alī, op.cit., VI, p. 106.

Sourdel, op.cit., p. 116.

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1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 313-5.

## Section 14.

## Al-Madrassa al-Kāmiliya

Al-Madrassa al-Kāmiliya is a magnificent and impressive building situated in the Maqāmāt quarter on the western outskirts of Aleppo, at a distance of some 300m. from al-Firdūs. This building, whose name, al-Kāmiliya, has been passed on through the generations, is entirely undated. A panel was prepared above the main entrance to receive the identifying inscription, but it was never engraved. The historical accounts concerning this madrassa and other Ayyūbid monuments in Aleppo related to it are not quite sufficient to identify the building.

There were many buildings bearing the name of al-Kāmiliya in the Ayyūbid period and there were many outstanding personalities with this name.

The plan and the architectural style of the building show that it was a madrassa, a ribāṭ or a khānqāh. Ibn Shaddād, who lived during the late Ayyūbid period, mentions some buildings which have a claim to be this madrassa. In his list of the khānqāhs he mentions two known as al-Kāmiliya. One of them was inside the city and originally a house of Ibn al-Barīdīn near the house of Banū 'l-Khashshāb.<sup>1</sup> The other one was outside Aleppo and was built by al-Kāmiliya, the wife of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn Abu'l-Rajā',<sup>2</sup> who was the chief of the Dīwān (Shād-Dīwān) of the regent Daifa Khātūn and the

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1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 95.

2. Ibid., p. 96.

founder of al-Madrasa al-‘Alā’iya<sup>1</sup> on the outskirts of the city. According to Herzfeld this khānqāh was probably in the same place as the madrasa of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn.<sup>2</sup> In addition to these two khānqāhs Ibn Shaddād mentions a madrasa called al-Kāmiliya al-‘Adīmiya, which was built by Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Umar Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Abū Jarāda, known as Ibn al-‘Adīm, to the east of Aleppo. It was founded in 639/1241 and finished in 649/1251, but no-one taught in it because the Ayyūbid state had ended by that time.<sup>3</sup> This madrasa is not our one, because it was situated on the east side of Aleppo whereas our madrasa is situated on the western outskirts of the city.

Ibn Shaddād also mentions two baths, a mosque and a mill, all having the name al-Kāmiliya.<sup>4</sup>

Ibn al-Shihna, who lived in the IXth/XVth century, adds in his lists more buildings bearing the name al-Kāmiliya. One of these buildings was a madrasa built by Ibn Kāmil adjacent to the two madrasas al-Nāṣiriya and al-Shihābiya.<sup>5</sup> According to Herzfeld these two madrasas were in the Farāfra quarter<sup>6</sup> and therefore the Kāmiliya mentioned by Ibn al-Shihna should be there.

Since this latter madrasa is not mentioned in Ibn Shaddād

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1. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 120.

2. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 306.

3. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 121.

4. Ibid., pp. 51, 90, 131 and 134.

5. Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., p. 234.

6. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 305.



it was almost certainly founded after his own time, i.e. after 684/1285. The building now known as al-Madrasa al-Kāmiliya, therefore, does not agree in its location with any of the above-mentioned buildings. One may suggest that it was probably built by Fāṭima Khātūn, the daughter of al-Malik al-Kāmil,<sup>1</sup> who is recorded by Ibn Shaddād as the founder of a khānqāh in the Qaṭī'a quarter.<sup>2</sup> She was married to al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad in 627/1230 and died in 656/1258, and was known as Ibnat al-Kāmil<sup>3</sup> (the daughter of al-Kāmil). Probably she founded other buildings besides the khānqāh, and our madrasa, al-Kāmiliya, could have been founded by her. The construction of the building accords well with that period and the early death of al-Malik al-'Azīz in 634/1236 would explain why this madrasa stayed unfinished and without an inscription.<sup>4</sup> It is worth mentioning that the building is dated by Sauvaget to the VIIth/XIIIth century,<sup>5</sup> while according to Creswell it was built before 1300 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

#### The Plan (Fig. 358).

The plan of the building is characteristic of that of Aleppo madrasas. It contains an īwān, a prayer hall, turbas and chambers, all arranged around a central courtyard. As usual, the prayer hall occupies the south side with its triple-arched façade. It is set between two domed chambers, which were probably turbas.

1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 305.

2. Ibn Shaddād, "Aleppo", p. 95. This quarter is not near our madrasa.

3. Ibn al-Shihna, op.cit., p. 108.

4. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, p. 306.

5. Sauvaget, "Inventaire", No. 27.

6. "MAE", II, p. 119.

The north side is occupied by a large īwān flanked by chambers on both sides. The west side is in ruins and most of its foundations were covered by debris<sup>1</sup> until they were uncovered recently by the S.D.A. This side contained two chambers. Two symmetrical chambers occupy the east side too, but on this side there is also a passage leading into the corridor of the entrance. The entrance unit with its oblong corridor was added as an annexe to the rectangular plan, on the north-west side.

### The Construction

With the exception of the two domes on the south corners, the entire building is of dressed stone, with remarkably fine joints (Fig. 359). The īwān is roofed by a barrel vault, while all the other chambers, except those of the south side, are roofed by cross vaults.

Each of the two chambers at the corners of the south side (Fig. 360) is roofed with a dome made of brick and rests on a circular cavetto moulding. The transition to the circular base is accomplished by means of four pyramidal pendentives forming a regular dodecagonal base on which the circular cavetto cornice rests (Figs. 361-362). The plan of the chamber is not a perfect square, and so the square base was produced by the erection of two transverse arches on the east and the west sides (Figs. 360, 361 and 363). The eastern dome is completely destroyed down to the circular cavetto cornice, but the western one is well preserved. Both these chambers originally led into the prayer hall by

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1. Herzfeld, "Aleppo", II, Pl. CXI,b.

means of fully open archways, but the western one has been blocked up recently.<sup>1</sup> It is worth pointing out here that each of the two chambers has an air shaft on its south side.<sup>2</sup>

In its roofing system the prayer hall follows closely that of Khānqāh al-Farāfra, being roofed by a dome set over the central bay flanked by two lateral vaults. This part is entirely of cut stone. The dome covers a square base formed by four arches: the two inner ends of the lateral vaults, the middle arch of the north façade and an arch set across the south side (Figs. 360 and 364). The transition zone from the square base to the circular one is carried out by means of two mugarnas courses (Figs. 361, 364 and 365). There are four small windows set upon the axes in the first course. The east one is still open while the others are blocked up. The second mugarnas course is terminated by a circular base from which the smooth dome springs.

The exterior of the transition zone of the dome comprises a regular octagonal base with four rectangular windows, each measuring 41 x 81cm., at the axial sides. This base is crowned by a cavetto cornice and the whole is surmounted by the smooth dome. This is constructed of uniform courses of smoothly cut stone with fine joints, the face of

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1. This partition is not marked on the plans of Herzfeld and Creswell, which means that it was added after their visit to the building.
  2. Such air shafts are found also in the turba of al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī in al-Madrassa al-Sulṭāniya and in room B in the annexe of Mashhad al-Ḥusain.

each of its stones measuring 30cm. high by 80-95cm. long. At the middle of the south side of the prayer hall there is a mihrāb bearing some similarity to that of al-Madrasa al-Zāhiriya (Fig. 366). It is badly damaged; its two columns have disappeared, and the coloured slabs of its vertical panels have been pulled away.

The flagstones of the pavement of the prayer hall have been taken away and in some places the present ground level is lower than the original level by 50 cm.

The main entrance to the madrasa is situated within a rectangular bay at the N.-W. corner of the building. It is roofed by a mugarnas semi-dome composed of three courses of mugarnases topped by a shell-shaped semi-dome. The front arch of the bay is pointed, and bears no geometrical or other decorative designs (Figs. 367-368).

#### Bibliography

- Herzfeld, "Aleppo", I, pp. 305-6.  
 Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", pp. 23-4.  
Idem , "MAE", II, p. 119.  
 Sauvaget, "Inventaire", No. 27.  
 Talas, "Al-Āthār", p. 81.

## CHAPTER V

## ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS OF AYYŪBID DOMED BUILDINGS

## Section 1.

## Origin and Function of the Dome.

The mother-land of the dome is still obscure and it is very hard to ascertain its origin. Early attempts to create forms approximating to the dome are found in many different places, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Italy, Armenia, and Persia, and there are no connections between these attempts. However, none of the early attempts can be termed a dome in the true sense.

In Egypt there existed domes in small and unimportant buildings.<sup>1</sup> A hunting scene carved on a slab of schist, dating from the pre-dynastic period, shows a domed-shaped building, the dome being made of reeds<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 369). Lutz, who calls attention to this dome-shaped building, believes that there is no archaeological material from Mesopotamia to illustrate the occurrence of this structure.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless he says that it is not altogether impossible that the pre-dynastic Egyptian dome-structure ultimately goes back to Babylonia.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 304.

2. H.F. Lutz, "The Oldest Monumental Evidence of a Dome Structure", Journal of the American Oriental Society XXXIX (1919), p. 122.

3. Op.cit., loc.cit. I would like to call attention to similar huts occurring on cylinder seals, which are also made of reeds. See P.P. Delougaz, "Animals Emerging from a Hut", Journal of Near Eastern Studies XXVII (Jan.-Oct. 1968), Figs. 4-7, 9 and 11.

4. Lutz, op.cit., loc.cit.

According to Perrot and Chipiez, the granaries, barns and storehouses in ancient Egypt were almost always dome-shaped and very few seem to have had flat roofs.<sup>1</sup> Models of these domes are shown in some paintings (Fig. 370). However, from the drawings of these dome-shaped figures one can conclude that none of them had a vertical square base. Some of them were built on a square plan with walls inclining towards the centre to meet each other, forming a dome-shaped figure. At Hieracompolis several pieces of stone of about six feet in diameter have been found which seem to have belonged to houses of circular plan of the pre-pyramidal age. Some foundations of isolated circular buildings - probably granaries - were also discovered.<sup>2</sup> Possibly these circular buildings had some kind of dome.

In the excavation at Rīva a large number of models of houses dating from the tenth Dynasty were found. One had a flat roof with two little rounded domes emerging through it just like a style of house to be found to-day in many parts of the East,<sup>3</sup> Mosul for example.

In the Twelfth Dynasty, domes were formed over the circular chambers within the small pyramids of this age. They are built of horizontal layers of brickwork, each course being of less diameter than the one below.<sup>4</sup> As for

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1. G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez, "A History of Art in Ancient Egypt" (London, 1883), trans. and ed. by W. Armstrong, II, p. 37. See too W.R. Lethaby, "Architecture", (London, 3rd ed. 1955), p. 40.

2. Lethaby, op.cit., p. 39.

3. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 304; Lethaby, op.cit., p. 40.

4. Lethaby, op.cit., pp. 39-40.



the construction of the ancient Egyptian domes which are set on square bases, they are irregular, the sides contracting inwards while the corners become increasingly rounded.<sup>1</sup> In Italy the dome appears to have been known some centuries before our era. It seems to have been introduced as a feature in bath building.<sup>2</sup> Rivoira, who is enthusiastic about Rome, regards it as the mother-land of the dome,<sup>3</sup> but the domes to which he refers in his theory are, like that of the bath of Pompeii, not truly domes. Some of them are concreted shells of rubble, and are very conical, just like those shown on Layard's bas-relief,

It has been suggested that the area in which the dome over a square plan first appeared was in the wide region between the Central Asian mountains and the Mediterranean.<sup>4</sup> However, one can be more precise and suggest that the evolution of the dome occurs in both Mesopotamia and Persia. The two sequences each complete the other, but there are wide gaps between the examples of this sequence. Although we have no domes existing in the area earlier than those of Fīrūzabād, there is much other evidence which alludes to the existence of the idea of the dome in the area.

Woolley attributes the origin of the dome to the Sumerians.<sup>5</sup> Dome-shaped buildings made of reeds appear on

1. Lethaby, op.cit., pp. 39-40.

2. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 305.

3. G.T. Rivoira, "Moslem Architecture, Its Origin and Development" (Oxford, 1918), trans. from Italian by G. Rushforth, p. 121.

4. O. Dalton, "East Christian Art" (Oxford, 1925), pp.80-81.

5. L. Woolley, "Mesopotamia and the Middle East" (London, 1961), p. 46.



some cylinder seals dating from the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 371). Excavations have not yet uncovered any architectural building with this form. In the northern part of Mesopotamia, Assyria, the dome seems to have been used on unimportant buildings. The bas-relief discovered by Layard in Nineveh, in the Palace of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) shows a village with two kinds of domes. Some of these domes are hemispherical and some others approximate to sugar loaves in shape<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 372). The same form as that of the conical domes of the bas-relief is still in use in Northern Syria around Aleppo and in the northern parts of Mesopotamia, just to the south of Kirkūk.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the above-mentioned Egyptian domes, these domes rest on clear squares, or at least right-angled bases. These domes were probably of small dimensions. The modern domes of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia are built of sun-dried brick held together by a clay mortar. The high ovoid domes which appear upon the relief are built of oversailing rings.<sup>4</sup> However, no trace of a domed building has yet been found in the excavations at the Assyrian capitals, Nineveh, Khursabād, Nimrūd and Assur, which suggests that the dome was still unimportant in

1. Supra, p. 274 .

2. On this bas-relief see A.H. Layard, "Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon", (London, 1853), p. 112; Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 305; Rivoira, "Moslem Architecture", p. 123; G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez, "A History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria", (London, 1884), I, pp. 144-6; G.L. Bell, "Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir" (Oxford, 1914), p. 75.

3. A study of the distribution of this kind of domed building is made by Von Ewald Banse, "Die Gubāb-Hütten Nordsyriens und Nordwest-Mesopotamiens," Orientalisches Archiv, II, (1911-1912), pp. 173-179.

4. Bell, "Ukhaidir", p. 75.

architecture and that barrel vaults were commonly adopted instead.<sup>1</sup>

In Hatra, where the buildings are dated from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D., barrel vaults were also adopted. These are on a very large scale. Some models of domes were found among the debris, each showing a rather conical dome on a square base with one entrance (Fig. 373). The details of their interior are obscure for they were roughly hollowed, and no more than c. 20 cm. in width.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest true dome on a square base occurs in Persia in Fīrūzābād; it has been dated by some<sup>to</sup>/around 226 A.D.<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 374). The sequence was then continued, developing in two other examples, in Sarvistān which has been dated in the Vth century A.D.<sup>4</sup> and Qasr-ī-Shīrīn between 590 and 628 A.D.<sup>5</sup> (Figs. 375-376). These domes are set on square bases. The transition zone from the square base into the circular one is effected by means of a Persian device, the squinch. As to Mesopotamia, no dome is standing which can be dated earlier than Ukhaiḍir.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless there were many ancient monasteries with domes near al-Ḥīra.<sup>7</sup> Most probably these

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1. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 305.

2. These models are kept in the Iraqī Museum. They are unpublished. Their height is about 0.3m. The conical dome is surrounded by a crested parapet. Their function is unknown.

3. O. Reuther, "Sāsānian Architecture. A History" in "A Survey of Persian Art, from Prehistoric Times to the Present", ed. A.U. Pope (London and New York, 1939), I, p. 534.

4. Ibid., I, p. 537.

5. Ibid., I, p. 539.

6. Bell, "Ukhaidir", p. 74.

7. Al-Shābashtī. writes as follows of these domes: "Qubbat al-Shittīq, an ancient building in al-Ḥīra on the way to

monasteries belonged to the pre-Islamic period.

In Syria there are many pre-Islamic domed tomb buildings and other religious buildings, such as the Cathedral of St. George at Zur'a which was built in 515 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> and the tomb of Bizzoz, in Ruwaiḥa at the south-east of Syria, which is assigned to the sixth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Citing these tomb buildings as evidence Creswell suggests that the dome over a square base was first constructed in Syria.<sup>3</sup> It may have been directly from these small buildings, mostly tombs, that the idea of using the dome over a square base was borrowed for churches.<sup>4</sup>

#### The dome in the Ayyūbid period

The function of the dome in northern Syria is different from that in the south. In Damascus the greatest number of domed buildings were turbas. In Aleppo and the northern parts of Syria, the separate turba is very rare. Unlike the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, the Ayyūbids left almost no palaces. The sole surviving palace, which is that of al-Malik al-'Azīz Muḥammad in the citadel of Aleppo and which dates

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Contd.) Mecca, and near it there are many domes known as al-Shukūra. In al-Najaf, near al-Kūfa, there were domes and palaces called "the Monasteries of the Bishops" ("Al-Diārāt" (Baghdad, 1966), ed. G. 'Awād, pp. 236 and 241).

1. H.C. Butler, "Architecture and Other Arts" (New York, 1903) p. 412; J.A. Hamilton, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration" (London, 1956, 2nd ed.) pp. 45-6; (J.M. De Vogüé, "La Syrie Centrale" (Paris, 1868), Pl. 21.
2. Butler, "Architecture", p. 227, de Vogüé, op.cit., Pl. 91; Hamilton, op.cit., p. 45.
3. "EMA", I, p. 73.
4. Hamilton, op.cit., p. 43.

from 628/1230, uses a semi-dome on the portal of its façade but the rest of the building has vanished.<sup>1</sup> There are no historical accounts giving details of huge palaces in Syria during this period. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had no desire to embellish buildings or to erect huge palaces<sup>2</sup> and Nūr al-Dīn lived in a very simple wooden house in the citadel of Damascus.<sup>3</sup> However, it is impossible to say whether or not the dome played an important part in the design of Ayyūbid houses and palaces.

As to the madrasa of Damascus in the Ayyūbid period, the dome did not form a part of the madrasa itself. It roofed the turba attached to it, except in the case of al-Madrasa al-Rukniya<sup>4</sup> where the dome roofs the central court. Barrel vaults, cross vaults, and flat ceilings were employed in roofing the units of the madrasas of Damascus.

In Aleppo it is different. The dome was the principal method of roofing the units of many madrasas and other public buildings besides the turbas attached to them. The prayer halls in the madrasas of Damascus are roofed either by flat ceilings<sup>5</sup> or by barrel vaults interrupted in the middle by cross vaults.

In Aleppo, prayer halls are roofed either by a central

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", pp. 15-16.

2. Ibn Wāṣil, II, p. 426.

3. Abū Shāma, I, p. 228; Ibn Wāṣil, I, p. 263.

4. Supra, p. 145 .

5. E.g. the prayer halls of al-Madrasa al-Nūriya, al-Madrasa al-ʿĀdiliya and Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya.

6. Such as al-Madrasa al-Rukniya.

dome set over the bay of the mihrāb flanked by two lateral vaults<sup>1</sup>, or by a series of domes with the central dome distinguished from the others both by its greater size and by differences in architectural articulation.<sup>2</sup>

The turba, which is in fact a domed mausoleum, was of great importance in the Ayyūbid period.

Though Qubbat al-Ṣulaibiya, about 248/862<sup>3</sup> is the earliest surviving turba in Islam, there are historical statements indicating that some turbas were built long before Qubbat al-Ṣulaibiya. Al-Shābashtī states that the mother of al-Afdal Ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī died in 186/802 in Wādī al-Qanāṭir on the Euphrates near 'Āna and the caliph al-Rashīd ordered some land to be bought and a turba to be erected on her tomb. It was known as Qubbat al-Barmakiya.<sup>4</sup> Traces of this turba were noticed by Musil in 1912 and the place was still known then as Qubbat al-Barmakiya.<sup>5</sup> It is also said that when the caliph al-Rashīd died, he was buried near 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā and a turba was then built over them by the order of the caliph al-Ma'mūn<sup>6</sup>; and it is said that a dome was built over the tomb

1. This occurs in the small prayer halls like Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal, al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya, Maqām al-Nabī Yūsha', al-Madrasa al-Sulṭāniya, Khānqāh al-Farāfra, al-Madrasa al-Sharafiya and al-Madrasa al-Kāmiliya.
2. This method was followed in the large prayer halls such as Mashhad al-Muḥassin, Mashhad al-Ḥusain, al-Firdūs and al-Madrasa al-Zāhiriya.
3. On Qubbat al-Ṣulaibiya see F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, "Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet" (Berlin, 1911) I, pp. 83-6; Creswell, "EMA" II, pp. 283-6; 'A.N. 'Abbū, "Al-Qubāb al-'Abbāsiya fī 'l-'Irāq" (Baghdad, 1967, unpublished thesis), pp. 45-52.
4. Al-Shābashtī, p. 229.
5. A. Musil, "The Middle Euphrates", (New York, 1927), p. 20.
6. Al-Qazwīnī, "Āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ibād" (Beirut, 1960), p. 392.



of 'Alī Ibn Abū Ṭālib by the order of al-Rashīd.<sup>1</sup> One can go further and suggest that tombs were sanctified early in the first century A.H. The tomb of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbās, who died in 68/687, was shaded by a tent<sup>2</sup> and a tent was set over the tomb of al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abū Ṭālib.<sup>3</sup> There is nothing in the Koran to prohibit erecting turbas or other buildings over tombs. The only Koranic verse mentioning graves is: "The contention about numbers deludes you till ye visit the tombs".<sup>4</sup>

Most of the Sunnite jurists prohibit the erection of any kind of building over tombs. Their rulings were followed perhaps most implicitly of all by the Wahhābids in the middle of the eighteenth century, who destroyed all the domed tomb buildings in the area which came under their rule. The prohibition is based on some ḥadīths of Muḥammad. One of these ḥadīths says:

نهى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان يجصص القبر وان يقعد عليه  
وان يبنى عليه<sup>5</sup>

"The messenger of God, may God bless him, prohibited the tomb to be plastered, or to be sat on, or to be built upon". Al-Tirmidhī gives another ḥadīth with almost the same meaning

as the previous one:

نهى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ان تجصص القبور وان يكتب عليها وان  
يبنى عليها وان توطأ<sup>6</sup>

1. Ḥamd Allah al-Mustawfī, "Nuzhat al-Qulūb" (Leiden, 1919), trans. by G. Le Strange, p. 38.

2. Al-Ya'qūbī, "The History" (Leiden, 1883), II, p. 313.

3. Al-Tirmidhī, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī (Cairo, 1350/1931) IV, p. 273.

4. Koran, CII, 1-2 (

المهاكم التكاثر حتى زرتم المقابر

5. "Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim" (Cairo, 1347/1929) VII, p. 37.

6. Al-Tirmidhī, op.cit., IV, p. 271.

"The messenger of God, may God bless him, prohibited the tombs to be plastered, or to be written on or to be built upon or to be trampled upon".

Another ḥadīth given by Ibn Ḥanbal says:

لعن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم زائرات القبور والمتخذين عليها  
المساجد والسرج<sup>1</sup>.

"The messenger of God, may God bless him, execrated the ladies who visit the tombs and who pray over them and illuminate them by candles".

However, these bans were ignored just like those dealing with figural representation. Turbas were built over tombs and some of these turbas were given mihrābs contrary to what was laid down in the ḥadīths.

The mihrāb in the turba, which is found in most of the Syrian turbas, is connected with the controversy regarding the permissibility of prayer at tombs. Muḥammad prohibited praying towards tombs<sup>2</sup> and prohibited the Muslims from building oratories around tombs.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand we are told that Muḥammad prayed towards tombs.<sup>4</sup> He did not bow in his prayer over the tomb, but he prayed as he did when praying over the corpse before burying it.<sup>5</sup> Therefore there are ḥadīths against and ḥadīths for the idea of praying towards ~~the~~ tombs and people usually chose religious regulations in accordance with their own inclination. Praying towards the

1. Ibn Ḥanbal, "Al-Musnad", (Cairo, 1369/1950) No. 2030.

2. "Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim", VII, p. 38.

3. Ibid., V, pp. 11-13.

4. Ibid., VII, pp. 24-26; Ibn Ḥanbal, op.cit., No. 1962.

5. I.e., he prayed standing upright.



tomb and reading the Koran around it would keep the dead in company with God. The turbas and madrasas form the principal features of Ayyūbid architecture in Syria. In particular, the turbas form the majority of the surviving Ayyūbid buildings in Damascus. The excessive use of turbas in this period is probably connected with the wars of the Crusades. These continuous wars created a class of military leaders who tried to record their triumphs in the form of monumental buildings. Thus, their turbas were not merely built to contain their bodies but to give a brief biography of their lives. Most of the turbas of Damascus with which this work is concerned are to be found in the Ṣālihiya quarter to the north of Damascus. This quarter was so called following the Crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem and the emigration of some of its inhabitants to Damascus. They lived near the mosque of Abū Ṣāliḥ and they moved to the slope of the Qāsyūn mountain. They were known as al-Ṣāliḥīn after the mosque of Abū Ṣāliḥ and the area was then called al-Ṣālihiya after them.<sup>1</sup> A part of this quarter is still called al-Muhājirīn (the emigrants).

The reason for the concentration of turbas on this mound is probably due to the nature of the Arabs who prefer their tombs to be on elevations and hills;<sup>2</sup> the mountain of Qāsyūn is the nearest elevation to Damascus. Probably this practice is also followed to keep tombs far from stagnant water. Ibn

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1. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, pp. 38 and 59.

2. Visitors to any Arab village will notice that the cemetery occupies the nearest elevation.

Kathīr states that the founders of Jāmi' al-Ḥanābila in the Ṣālihiya tried to dig ditches for its water supply, but al-Malik al-Mu'azzam prevented them from doing that because the water would pass over Muslim tombs.<sup>1</sup> In addition to that, the mountain is said to have been sacred in the eyes of Muslims.<sup>2</sup> This probably explains why some people were buried in Damascus though they lived and died outside Damascus.<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to note that the turbas of Damascus are not held sacred by the people of Syria, except those of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn, which are respected because of the historical importance of these rulers.

Some of the turbas of Damascus were built by the people who are buried in them such as al-Turba al-Nūriya, al-Turba al-Khātūniya, al-Turba al-'Ālima, Turbat Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī, al-Turba al-'Ādiliya, al-Turba al-Rukniya, al-Turba al-'Izziya, al-Turba al-Murshidiya, al-Turba al-Qaimariya and al-Turba al-Qilījiya. Other turbas were founded after the death of their owners by their relatives such as the turba of Farrūkhshāh which was built by his mother, the turbas of al-Amjad; Qarājā and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn which were built by their sons, the turba of

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1. Ibn Kathīr, XII, p. 136.

2. It is said that Adam lived at the foot of this mountain; Cain killed his brother Abel at the top of it; Abraham was born on its eastern side; Christ and his mother lived for a while on its west side; and near al-Rabwa, which is to the west of the mountain, was the residence of Anne, mother of Mary (See Ibn Jubair, pp. 273-5, and M.A. Dahmān, "Jabal Qāsyūn" (Damascus, 1946)).

3. Such as Qarājā al-Nāṣirī, Ibn Timīrak and Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī.

Jahārkas which was built by his client, and the turbas of Raiḥān and al-Ḥasan Ibn Salāma, which were built by unknown people.

### The Madrasas

Teaching used to be held in mosques until the creation of the madrasa as an individual foundation for teaching. Teaching was carried out by means of several meetings, each being around one of the famous professors or shaikhs who used to take their places near the pillars of the mosque<sup>1</sup> or in one of its miḥrābs.<sup>2</sup> Some pillars bore the names of the professors even after their death.<sup>3</sup> Each of these meetings was called a ḥalaqa (ring) because students used to sit in a circle around the professor. Al-Maqdisī states that there were 110 different meetings in the mosque of 'Amr in Cairo.<sup>4</sup> Beside the mosque there was dār al-ʿilm or dār al-ḥikma (Pl. dūr al-ʿilm or dūr al-ḥikma). These foundations were established by the Caliphs and princes such as that which was founded by al-Rashīd in Baghdad<sup>5</sup> in 185/801 and Dar al-Ḥikma at Cairo which was founded by al-Ḥakīm bi Amr Allah the Fāṭimid<sup>6</sup> in 395/1005. These foundations, however, seem

1. Ibn Jubair, p. 260.

2. Al-ʿUmarī, "Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār" (Cairo, 1924), I, p. 195. The editor is Zakī Pasha.

3. A. Fikrī, "Masājid al-Qāhira wa Madārisuha" (Cairo, 1961-69), II, p. 144.

4. Al-Maqdisī, "Aḥsan al-Taḳāṣīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm" ed. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), 2nd ed., p. 205.

5. Ḥ. Amīn, "Al-Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriya" (Baghdad, 1960), pp. 19-20.

6. Al-Maqrīzī, "Al-Khiṭaṭ" (Cairo, 1270/1853) II, pp. 341-2.

to have been something like libraries or high academic centres rather than teaching institutions.<sup>1</sup>

The madrasa as a separate foundation for teaching with a distinct architectural design appeared for the first time at the very beginning of the fifth century/eleventh century and it is said that the people of Nīshāpūr were the first who built a madrasa in Islam.<sup>2</sup> The idea of the madrasa went westward through Mesopotamia when the Seljuqid minister Niẓām al-Mulk built his madrasas in Baghdad, Balkh, Nīshāpūr, Harāt, Iṣfahān, Baṣra, Marw and Mosul.<sup>3</sup> In the time of Ibn Jubair's visit to the East in 580/1184 there were twenty madrasas in Damascus,<sup>4</sup> six madrasas in Aleppo,<sup>5</sup> six madrasas in Mosul<sup>6</sup> and thirty in Baghdad.<sup>7</sup> The lists of madrasas given by Ibn Shaddād and al-Nuʿaimī and the large number of the surviving madrasas in Syria indicate that the governors of Syria in the Nūrīd and the Ayyūbīd periods paid close attention to this kind of building. Many of these madrasas still exist. The madrasa retained its character of a government institution with political aims during the Ayyūbīd periods, when there was fear of a recrudescence of Shīʿite doctrines,<sup>8</sup> and to promote propaganda against the Crusades.<sup>9</sup>

1. Fikrī, "Masājid", II, p. 147.

2. Maqrīzī, op.cit., II, p. 362.

3. Al-Sabakī, "Tabaqā al-Shāfiʿiyya al-Kubra" (Cairo, 1324/1906), III, p. 137.

4. Ibn Jubair, p. 283.

5. Ibid., p. 253.

6. Ibid., p. 239.

7. Ibid., p. 229.

8. EI<sup>I</sup>, s.v. "Architecture," pp. 422-3.

9. See the Introduction, supra, p. 5 .

### Dār al-Ḥadīth

Dār al-Ḥadīth is one of the various institutions akin to the madrasa. But as this institution did not possess the same political importance it only played a subordinate part and did not develop a separate architectural style.<sup>1</sup> We are told that Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was the first to build a Dār al-Ḥadīth<sup>2</sup> and this dār still exists in Damascus.<sup>3</sup> It shows in general the same plan as that of a madrasa in its prayer hall, īwāns, chambers and courtyard. The other surviving Dār al-Ḥadīth in Damascus is Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya in the Ṣaliḥiya,<sup>4</sup> which is similar to the small madrāsas such as al-Madrasa al-Murshidiya.<sup>5</sup>

### Dār al-Qur'ān

Like Dār al-Ḥadīth, Dār al-Qur'ān seems to be a Damascene type. We are informed that Rashā' Ibn Naẓīf al-Dimashqī founded in Damascus Dār al-Qur'ān al-Rashā'iya about 400/1009.<sup>6</sup> That was the first foundation of this kind in the Islamic world. Though none of the individual Dār al-Qur'ān mentioned by al-Nu'aimī survive, it seems that there was no specific architectural design for it. In some cases Dār al-Qur'ān formed a part of the madrasa.

1. EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Architecture", p. 423; "ERE", s.v. "Architecture, Muḥammadan in Syria and Egypt", I, p. 758.

2. Ibn Wāṣil, I, p. 284.

3. On this building see Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", pp. 49-59 and Fig. 39.

4. Supra, p. 163.

5. Supra, p. 132.

6. Al-Nu'aimī, I, p. 11.

7. Ibid., I, pp. 7-17.

## Maqām and Mashhad

The ordinary maqām according to some scholars is a small square building surmounted by a dome.<sup>1</sup> In Syria two domed maqāms dating from this period still survive, Maqām al-Nabī Yūsha' and Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal, and neither of them agrees with the above-mentioned definition.

Maqām<sup>2</sup> means 'abode' and this term has been used to describe certain buildings in the Islamic world. It is believed that these buildings were originally the places where one of the prophets, particularly Ibrāhīm,<sup>3</sup> or other holy men lived. Such buildings were founded to their memory.

Most of the maqāms are in memory of Ibrāhīm. This is probably due to the influence of the Koran, for there is a verse saying "Oh men, pray at the abode of Ibrāhīm".<sup>4</sup> Therefore, tombs are not to be expected in such a building, but the founder of the building, or others, sometimes wished to profit from the holiness of the place and to be buried there.

The same can be said about mashhad, which means among other things 'the place of a vision'. A vision of a prophet or a holy man seen in the dream of a virtuous man is indicated as the reason for the building of Mashhad al-Ḥusain<sup>5</sup> and Mashhad al-Muḥassin<sup>6</sup> at Aleppo. The other, and commoner,

1. C.R. Conder, Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement (London, 1877), p. 91.

2. On maqām see Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", pp. 47-8.

3. In Aleppo alone there are three maqāms of Ibrāhīm: Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal, Maqām Ibrāhīm al-A'lā and Maqām Ibrāhīm in al-Ṣāliḥīn quarter.

4. Koran, II, v. 125.

5. Supra, p. 215 .

6. Supra, p. 206 .



meaning of mashhad<sup>1</sup> is 'the place of martyrdom'. This expression does not fit the two mashhads concerned in this work, Mashhad al-Ḥusain and Mashhad al-Muḥassin, because it is well known that al-Ḥusain was killed in Karbalā' in Mesopotamia.

According to Van Berchem, the mashhad did not produce an architectural type of its own, and owing to the fact that it always marks the tomb of a saint, it imitates the plan of the mausoleum.<sup>2</sup> But these two mashhads are huge buildings, even larger than some madrasas, and Mashhad al-Ḥusain has no tomb at all. It thus differs considerably from the typical turba. The square domed mausolea of Palestine, however, are often called mashhad or maqām.<sup>3</sup> However, the mashhad in Syria does not show great differences either in plan or in construction from the madrasa.

### Ribāt and Khangāh

Ribāt is a fortified Islamic building which is the place where the mounts were assembled and hobbled to be kept in readiness for an expedition. The most reasonable explanation is that which refers to the Koran;<sup>4</sup> "prepare against them (the enemies of God) all that you possess of strength and places of horses".<sup>5</sup>

The word, however, was applied at an early date to

1. On mashhad see EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. 'Architecture'.

2. EI<sup>1</sup>, "Architecture", I, p. 425.

3. ERE, "Architecture, Muḥammadan in Syria and Egypt", I, p. 759.

4. EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Ribāt", III, pp. 1150-53.

5. Koran, VIII, 60. The verse reads:

واعبدوا لهم ما استلغتم من قوة ومن رباط الخيل



military establishments. It is said that Hārūn al-Rashīd was the first to build a ribāṭ, and his followers then imitated him. His leader, Harthama Ibn A'yan built some ribāṭs in Armenia and Munāstīr.<sup>1</sup> Descriptions of some ribāṭs in Palestine which are called Ribaṭāt 'Amwās indicate that each ribāṭ had a minaret for giving warning to the neighbouring ribāṭs of the arrival of the enemies. This warning was effected by means of a bright fire if it was night or a smoky one if it was daytime.<sup>2</sup> This military system occurred first in the East in the time of al-Rashīd or even before that and it spread into Egypt and North Africa.<sup>3</sup> These ribāṭs gradually became public buildings of Ṣūfism.

As to the khānqāh, it is a Persian term usually applied to Ṣūfī buildings. From Persia it penetrated first into Syria and then into Egypt through Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.<sup>4</sup> These buildings, ribāṭs and khānqāhs, flourished under the Ayyūbids and then under the Mamlūks but without creating any real type of architecture. These monasteries sometimes assume the plan of a great mosque and sometimes that of a madrasa.<sup>5</sup> In Syria there is only one ribāṭ and one khānqāh dating from the Ayyūbid period and both of them are in Aleppo. They show in their plans and even in their construction almost the same features as those of a madrasa.

1. Ibn al-Athīr, "al-Kāmil", VI, p. 149.

2. Al-Maqdisī, op.cit., p. 177.

3. F. Shāfi'ī, "Al-Imāra al-'Arabiya fī Miṣr al-Islāmiya" (Cairo, 1970), I, p. 531.

4. ERE, s.v. "Architecture, Muḥammadan in Syria and Egypt" I, p. 759.

5. Ibid., loc. cit.,

6. Al-Firdūs and Khānqāh al-Farāfra.

## Section 2.

## Ground Plan.

Although the ground plan of a dome depends on its purpose, all the domes of Damascus in the Ayyūbid period are built on plans which are either exact or nearly exact squares. Some of the turbas of Damascus have square plans with four wide recesses and an opening at the middle of each recess.<sup>1</sup> Some turbas have two openings on one side in addition to the three axial openings.<sup>2</sup> The openings in some other turbas are arranged irregularly. This irregularity results from the connection of the turba to other buildings.<sup>3</sup> This feature occurs clearly in the domes attached to the madrasas and other public buildings. The southern opening in some turbas is replaced by a mihrāb.<sup>4</sup>

However, the typical Ayyūbid turba of Damascus is a square with four recesses, though there are exceptional cases like the turbas of al-Badriya, al-Faranthiya, al-Murshidiya and Qubbat al-Amjād which lack recesses.

Tomb buildings on square plans were known in Syria in the pre-Islamic period. There is an example dated from the fourth century at Taltītā in the southern part of Jabal al-

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1. Such as al-Turba al-Najmiya, al-Turba al-Khātūniya, al-Turba al-Ṣalāḥiya, al-Turba al-‘Ālima, Turbat Ibn Timīrak, and Turbat Turkhān.

2. Such as al-Turba al-‘Imādiya, al-Turba al-Hāfiẓiya and al-Turba al-Qaimariya.

3. E.g. al-Turba al-Salāmiya and Turbat Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

4. E.g. al-Turba al-‘Imādiya, al-Turba al-Qarājiya and Turbat Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

A'lā.<sup>1</sup> Another tomb building with a pyramidal roof on a cubic base is found in Juwāniya, and this dates from 398 A.D. It is numbered by Butler as (1) to be distinguished from two others of the same design<sup>2</sup> in this town. In Rbī'a there is another tomb chamber datable to the fourth century. It is one of the most perfectly preserved examples of its class in Jabal Rīḥa.<sup>3</sup>

At al-Bāra, there are three pyramidal tombs on a square plan, one of which appears to be somewhat older than the others; it is dated to the Vth century.<sup>4</sup> The two others are dated to the VIth century.<sup>5</sup> Another example of this sort of tomb building, dating from the VIth century, is found in the south part of Dānā not very far from Aleppo. This is regarded as the most beautiful pyramidal tomb building in all northern Syria.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the square plan of the turbas can be attributed with some confidence to pre-Islamic tomb towers.

As for the recesses, they have two possible origins. There are the Sasanian fire temples<sup>7</sup> which greatly influenced eastern Islamic architecture. The regular fire temple was

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1. Butler, "Architecture", pp. 111-112.

2. Ibid., p. 109.

3. Ibid., p. 111.

4. Ibid., p. 159.

5. Ibid., pp. 244-245 and de Vogüé, "Syrie", p. 74.

6. Butler, "Architecture", pp. 245-6; de Vogüé, "Syrie" p. 77.

7. On the fire temple see Reuther, "Sāsānian Architecture", "Survey", I, pp. 550-566.

a dome set on four arches opening into a vaulted corridor.<sup>1</sup> This structure occurs in the central dome in the palace of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī in Marw,<sup>2</sup> Dār al-Imāra at Kufa,<sup>3</sup> and some palaces at Sāmarrā such as al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, Balkuwāra,<sup>4</sup> and it is very clear in the palace of al-Ḥuwaiṣilāt also at Sāmarrā. The central part of the latter consisted of a domed court, square in plan, with a doorway in the centre of each side. The doorways open into a vaulted corridor.<sup>5</sup> In addition to these, there is Qubbat al-Ṣulaibiya, the earliest existing turba in Islam, which is square internally with four entrances.<sup>6</sup> The mausoleum of ‘Alī Ibn Abū Ṭālib which was built in the middle of the IVth/Xth century had four entrances as well.<sup>7</sup> In spite of these Mesopotamian buildings which follow a Persian model, one can detect no Persian architectural influence on the Syrian turbas which had a recessed plan.

The other possible origin of the axial recesses of Syrian turbas is in pre-Islamic Syrian architecture. It is probable that the Syrian recessed turba originally consisted of four L-shaped piers forming a square recalling that of Ladakiya (Fig. 377).

1. Reuther, "Sāsānian Architecture", "Survey", I, p. 551.

2. On this building see Creswell "EMA", II, pp. 3-4.

3. On this building see M.A. Muṣṭafā, "Tanqībāt al-Mawsim al-Thālith fī 'l-Kūfa", Sumer XII (1956), pp. 30-31.

4. On these two palaces see "EMA", II, pp. 232-45 and 265-75.

5. See the Directorate General of Antiquities, Iraq, "Ḥafriyāt Sāmarrā" (Baghdad, 1940), I, p. 12f.; 'Abbū, op.cit., pp. 39-41.

6. On Qubbat al-Ṣulaibiya see Creswell "EMA", II, pp. 283-6; 'Abbū, op.cit., pp. 45-52.

7. Ibn Ḥawqal, "Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard" ed. J.H. Kramers (Leiden, 1938), I, p. 240.

The back walls of the recesses in Ayyūbid buildings were, indeed, curtain walls and the L-shaped piers were joined, but traces of curtain walls of wood survive in one of the turbas of Damascus,<sup>1</sup> and this disposition is obviously closer to the original open plan.

There is no connection between the recessed turba and the Greek cross plan which is found in some pre-Islamic buildings in Syria. This latter plan is found in the tomb of Bizzos at Ruwaiha<sup>2</sup> and in another tomb building at Ḥāss.<sup>3</sup> The domed tomb at Ruwaiha is one of the most important funeral monuments in northern Syria. It is also one of the best preserved. Its importance rests in the fact that it is the only ancient structure in Syria where one finds preserved a complete example of a rectangular building with a domical roof, a prototype for the Islamic turba. Its plan is a Greek cross within a square and the exterior shows a cubical base surmounted by a hemispherical dome. The interior is made up of four deep arches forming the sides of the square.<sup>4</sup> A similar plan is found in the tomb building at Ḥāss<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 378 A & B). Both buildings date from the VIth century.

Creswell believes that the "canopy type" was adopted for the first mausoleums as a compromise between the injunctions of the Hadīth and the desire to have a monumental tomb. It

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1. Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam.

2. Butler, "Architecture", pp. 247-8.

3. Ibid., pp. 246-7.

4. Ibid., pp. 247-8.

5. Ibid., pp. 246-7.

was probably felt that a tomb under a canopy, open to the sun, wind and rain, did not violate the Hadīth too much. The need for a mihṛāb soon made itself felt and caused the qibla side to be closed to provide space for it. The final step of the development of the recessed turba was to close all four sides leaving one entrance only.<sup>1</sup>

No Ayyūbid turbas remain in Aleppo. It seems that the construction of separate turbas in Aleppo began just after the Ayyūbid period.<sup>2</sup> The surviving Ayyūbid turbas of Aleppo are all attached to other public buildings, particularly madrasas, and in some cases these turbas follow the same plan as the prayer hall.

Turbas of octagonal or polygonal plan do not exist in Syria at all. Such forms, and other types based on the circle and the flange, are found in Persia<sup>3</sup> and also in Anatolia.<sup>4</sup> Turbas of octagonal plan were known in Mesopotamia throughout the mediaeval period.<sup>5</sup> The plans of the turbas attached to the madrasas and other public buildings in Damascus follow in most respects those of the free-standing turbas. All have square plans and most of them

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1. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 113.

2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 65.

3. D. Hill and O. Grabar, Islamic Architecture and its Decoration (London, 1964), pp. 58, 62, 65 and 71 and Figs. 176, 177, 254, 255, 329, 337, 338 and 506.

4. B. Ünsal, "Turkish Islamic Architecture" (London, 1959), pp. 42-46 and Figs. 19-21, 89-93.

5. Such as Turbat Awlād Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī at Ḥadītha (Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., I, pp. 321-2, and 'Abbū, op.cit., pp.125-127), Qubbat Najm al-Dīn at Ḥadītha (Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., loc.cit.; and 'Abbū, op.cit., pp.123-125), Qubbat



are recessed. The turba usually occupies a square area at one of the corners of the madrasa.<sup>1</sup> When one considers the theories about the origin of the plan of the madrasa and particularly the cruciform plan,<sup>2</sup> one finds that Syria had a very important part in its development. It is worth mentioning that none of the Syrian madrasas has a clear cruciform plan. The cruciform plan is found in other buildings which have no connection with teaching, like al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī and al-Bīmāristān al-Qaimarī. Therefore, there seems to be no supporting evidence for the connection between the madhhabs of the madrasas and the number of the īwāns that it contains.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, there is a madrasa dedicated to two madhhabs that have only one īwān,<sup>4</sup> and there are madrasas dedicated to only one madhhab that have more than one īwān in each.<sup>5</sup>

Contd.) Wīlāda at Sinjār ('Abbū, op.cit., pp. 110-114), Sitt Zubaida at Baghdād (Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., II, pp. 308-311; Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", pp. 25-6 and 'Abbū, op.cit., pp. 102-109) and Mashhad al-Shams at Hilla ('Abbū, op.cit., pp. 143-146).

1. See al-Madrasa al-Nūriya, al-Madrasa al-'Ādiliya, al-Madrasa al-Rukniya and al-Madrasa al-Murshidiya.
2. On this subject see M. Van Berchem, "Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Ière partie, Egypte", Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, (Paris, 1894), pp. 254-269 (=CIA/Egypte); K.A.C. Creswell, "The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairene Madrasas", B.I.F.A.O. XXI (Cairo, 1922) pp. 1-54; idem, "MAE", II pp. 104-33; A. Godard, "L'Origine de la Madrasa, de la Mosquée et du Caravansérail à Quatre īwāns", A.I. XV-XVI (1951) pp. 1-9; Lauffray, op.cit., pp. 49-66; Fikrī, "Masājid", II, pp. 125-140 and 167-192; Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", pp. 13-16, and 29-30.
3. Creswell connects the number of madhhabs of a madrasa and the number of īwāns that it contains ("MAE", II, p. 121).
4. Al-Madrasa al-Sultāniya at Aleppo.
5. Al-Madrasa al-Nūriya and al-Madrasa al-'Ādiliya at Damascus.



We do not intend to discuss here the origin of the plan of the madrasa and the īwān but it is important to remember that the īwān is simply an architectural motif employed in the madrasa, mashhad, khānqāh maqām, and in private houses; indeed, it is still used in private houses in Mosul and its surroundings, and even more widely in Persian domestic architecture.

According to van Berchem, the plan of the madrasa which contains four īwāns arranged in a cruciform shape around a courtyard agrees with the purpose of the madrasa which is, according to him, the teaching of the four madhhabs.<sup>1</sup> He goes on to suggest that this system was originally derived from the Byzantine churches of Syria.<sup>2</sup> Creswell, who tries to prove the non-existence of the cruciform plan in Syrian madrasas,<sup>3</sup> refutes this theory, basing his interpretation on the evidence that there was no Syrian madrasa with a cruciform plan,<sup>4</sup> that most of the Syrian madrasas were established for one madhhab and that some of them were for two madhhabs. He finds no evidence in the Arab historians to suggest the existence of a madrasa of four madhhabs in Syria.<sup>5</sup> He believes also that the cruciform Byzantine church plan is not found in Syria, but is confined to Asia Minor.<sup>6</sup> Creswell suggests another theory, according to which the plan of the madrasa was derived from the Egyptian

1. Van Berchem, "CIA/Egypte", p. 265.

2. Ibid., p. 268; and see EI<sup>1</sup> s.v. "Architecture".

3. "MAE", II, p. 120.

4. In fact the cruciform plan was known in Syria, not in madrasas but in other buildings such as al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī and al-Bīmāristān al-Qaimarī.

5. "MAE", II, p. 120 and idem, "Cruciform Plan", pp. 24-7.

6. Ibid., pp. 43-5.

house which had a qā'a.<sup>1</sup> The qā'a is an interior hall consisting of two īwāns on opposite sides of a square space covered by a skylight. This type fits the two-īwān madrasa type.<sup>2</sup> As evidence for his theory he gives thirteen examples of houses converted into madrasas,<sup>3</sup> six in Egypt, six in Damascus,<sup>4</sup> and one in Aleppo. However, whether this theory is true or not, the Egyptian influence on Syria in this respect was almost nil, as Creswell himself admits.<sup>5</sup> Richmond agrees with Creswell that the madrasa was derived from the Egyptian houses, but he believes that the system of the Egyptian qā'a derived originally from the Sasanian type of palace which was very common in the early Abbasid period.<sup>6</sup>

Other authorities suggest Persia as the home of the 4-īwān plan of the madrasa. According to Herzfeld, "Nizām al-Mulk put the Persian architects to the task of building his madrasas, they had houses, caravanserais, ribāts, and māristāns. They made the indispensable alteration to adapt their plan to the different purposes of the new building... and with the Nizāmiya, the cruciform madrasa was imported from Iran to Baghdād".<sup>7</sup>

1. "MAE", II, p. 129.

2. Creswell, "Cruciform plan", p. 45.

3. Ibid., pp. 45-48.

4. Actually there were in Damascus alone more than twenty houses converted into madrasas (see al-Nu'aimī, I, pp. 19, 72, 99, 158, 159, 166, 205 and 301.)

5. Creswell, "Cruciform plan, p. 49.

6. E.T. Richmond, "Moslem Architecture" (London, 1926), pp. 106-109.

7. "Damascus. II", p. 29.

The plan of the Syrian madrasa, in fact, though based on foreign models, gradually developed away from these models and became distinctively Syrian. It may be purely Persian in its architectural elements and at the same time purely Syrian in character.<sup>1</sup>

Diez claims that the madrasa system is purely Persian,<sup>2</sup> as does Godard, who believes that the cruciform plan was known in Persia even before the creation of the madrasa and that the plan was adopted for the madrasa because it agreed with its purpose in teaching the four madhhabs.<sup>3</sup> He assumes that the plan of four īwāns arranged around a courtyard was known in Khurāsān at the time when al-Madrassa al-Nizāmiya was founded in Baghdād in the middle of the fifth century.<sup>4</sup> Godard concludes that the plan of the madrasa with four īwāns was taken from the dwelling houses of Khurāsān and that the madrasa itself was the prototype of the Persian mosque with four īwāns.<sup>5</sup>

However, the above-mentioned theories lack any surviving prototype. This prototype is found in western Palestine, in the palace of 'Ammān or the tomb of Uriah (Fig. 379). It has a perfect cruciform plan and is attributed to al-Mā'mūn 216/831.<sup>6</sup> The plan of this palace was probably the prototype of the Syrian cruciform plan.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 30.

2. E. Diez, "Islamic Architecture, B. The Principles and Types", in "Survey" II, p. 921.

3. Godard, "L'Origine", pp. 1-9.

4. Ibid., p. 4.

5. Ibid., p. 9.

6. C.R. Conder, "The Survey of Eastern Palestine . I . The 'Adwān country" (London, 1889), p. 63.

7. This is only a provisional suggestion. I am aware that the origin of the 4-īwān plan is a very vexed question; unfortunately, limitations of space forbid further discussion here.

Whatever the origin of the plan of the madrasa was, the Syrian madrasas of the Ayyūbid period have many distinctive features in common. They all include a prayer hall, generally entered by a triple arched façade occupying the whole of the south side of the courtyard. They usually have one great īwān and some of them have secondary īwāns. A turba is found combined with most of the madrasas.<sup>1</sup>

Some Syrian madrasas, particularly in Damascus, were founded by princes or ordinary people. These madrasas were not used for the accommodation of students, but for containing the turba of the founder or some other person. They therefore differ in plan from the typical plan of the Ayyūbid madrasa of Damascus. They are merely turbas with prayer halls attached to them and they lack the small student cells. The purpose of these madrasas was in fact to keep the turba in a Koranic atmosphere.

The above-mentioned features of the Syrian madrasas lead one to look for the effective prototype of their architecture. Buildings as works of art have a horizontal connection with all the works of their period and region, besides the vertical connection of their pedigree.<sup>3</sup> Therefore one may look for that prototype in Syria. The idea of the Syrian madrasa was developed in northern Syria. Lauffray suggests that the idea of the madrasa came to Syria at a time when its architectural tradition had reached its apogee

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1. Creswell, "Cruciform Plan", p. 24.

2. Examples of these madrasas are found in al-Madrassa al-Rukniya, Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya and al-Marasa al-Murshidiya.

3. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 30.

and had its own characteristics. Instead of taking its principles from foreign sources it derived them from local ones. These sources are represented by the dwelling houses of northern Syria,<sup>1</sup> which evolved from Byzantine houses.<sup>2</sup>

As for the domes in the Friday mosques, we have only one example dating from the Ayyūbid period, Jāmi' al-Tawba. The dome of this jāmi' roofs the bay of the mihṛāb, a system which recalls that of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus whence the idea reached North Africa and Spain.<sup>3</sup> According to Van Berchem it may be a "remnant of the church, viz, of the dome built over the intersection of the transept in front of the choir".<sup>4</sup>

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1. Lauffray, op.cit., p. 65.

2. J. Sauvaget, "Remarques sur l'Art Sassanide", Revue des Etudes Islamiques LX (1938), p. 113.

3. E. Pauty, "L'Evolution du Dispositif en T dans les Mosquées à Portiques", Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales II (1932), pp. 107-108, and see Herzfeld, "Damascus. IV", p. 137.

4. EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "Architecture", I, p. 425.

## Section 3.

## Construction of the Transition Zone

Basically there are two types of transition zones in Damascus. The first type is represented by 23 domes in Damascus. Their design is found only in Damascus and can thus be termed the "Damascus style". The transition zone of this group consists of two superposed drums, an octagonal and a sixteen-sided one. It is adequately described in this work but there are some features which need to be clarified. It is noticeable that the walls of the octagonal drum are of considerable thickness and sometimes they are even thicker than the walls of the square base. This is probably in order to cover the back of the squinches and to keep the form of the drum in a regular octagon. Apart from two buildings,<sup>1</sup> all the transition zones of this type are constructed of brick. As some ruined domes<sup>2</sup> indicate, the stages of the transition zone, the dome and the square base are separated from each other by layers of stone slabs arranged horizontally just like the flagstones of a pavement. The reason for this is to regulate and distribute the weight of the complex. The outer faces of these slabs are covered internally and externally by plaster cornices. The second drum is always set back on the exterior, an effect caused by the decrease in the thickness of its wall.

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1. Al-Mādrasa al-Maridāniya and al-Madrassa al-Rukniya.

2. Cf. al-Turba al-‘Imādiya, Turbat Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Turbat Raiḥān, Turbat Ibn Timīrak, al-Madrassa al-Jahārkasiya, Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiya and al-Madrassa al-Murshidiya.



The squinches of the octagonal zone are mostly supported by tiny cells of various shapes. These tiny cells are not merely decorative; they cover the corners which are not completely covered by the thin walls of the niches.

Herzfeld suggests that the Damascene octagonal transition zone is derived from a native wooden structure and in its origin has nothing to do with the Iranian squinch, however similar they look and whatever other qualities they may share.<sup>1</sup> This suggestion is based on comparison with the early domes of Baṣra, Jerusalem and Damascus, which were made of wood, and also on the abundance of cedars in Lebanon. The evidence is too scanty fully to prove this theory. The octagonal drums of Damascene domes result from the development of the Syrian squinch. Its roots can be traced in early Islamic domes like those of Bāb al-ʿĀmma at Sāmarrā, Qubbat al-Ṣulaibiya at Sāmarrā, and the dome of the mosque of Qairawān;<sup>2</sup> this feature is also found in the mausolea of Sabʿa Banāt near Cairo which date from about 400/1009.<sup>3</sup> The earliest turba in Damascus, which is al-Turba al-ʿAlāʾiya of 568/1172, has a transition zone of one octagonal drum. The hexadecagonal drum is found in the domes of this and later periods. The reasons why the architect set up the second drum were presumably as follows:

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 67.
  2. On this building see A. Fikrī, "Al-Masjid al-Jāmiʿ bi 'l-Qairawān" (Cairo, 1936); G. Marçais, "Manuel d'Art Musulman" (Paris, 1926), I, pp. 15-34.
  3. Creswell, "MAE", I, p. 110; Fikrī, "Masājid, al-Madkhal", pp. 31-3.



1. To gain a base nearer in form to the circle.
2. To raise the dome higher in order for it to be more impressive.
3. To place windows through the second drum for more lighting.

Although double zones of transition are found elsewhere (e.g. in Aleppo and Iṣfahān), the particular combination of windows, arches and niches found at Damascus is not encountered elsewhere. It had no influence on other areas outside Damascus. Most probably it was formed and developed there.

The second type of transition zone in Damascus is found in three domes, al-Turba al-‘Ālima which dates from 640/1242, al-Turba al-Qaimariya which dates from 654/1256, and al-Madrassa al-Qilījiya of 651/1253. This kind of transition zone shows a combination of two types, the drum and the pendentive. Each zone consists of a dodecagonal drum resting on four pyramidal pendentives. An exception to this rule occurs in one case, in al-Turba al-‘Ālima, where the dodecagonal drum is topped by a twenty-four-sided one. It is noticeable that the three examples of this type are rather late in the Ayyūbid period. They date from 640/1242 and later. Examples of this type of transition zone are found outside Damascus in the early Nūrīd period, at Jāmi‘ al-Ḥasanīn in Ḥamā, Jāmi‘ al-Nūrī in Ḥamā and also Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal at Aleppo. The pyramidal pendentives are features of northern Syria and the earliest examples occurred there. Therefore it is reasonable to suggest that this type

of transition zone is indigenous to Northern Syria.

In addition to these two types of transition zones there were many other secondary types, each being employed in a single dome. One of these types is found in Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam which exhibits a mixture between pendentives and mugarnases.<sup>1</sup> Another example is found in al-Turba al-Ḥāfiẓiyya, the transition zone of which consists of an octagonal drum, the upper corners being spanned by small pendentives.<sup>2</sup> Another, different, method is to be found in the turba of al-Madrassa al-ʿĀdiliyya.<sup>3</sup> The transition of this dome is carried out by means of four "mugarnas pendentives". They are, in fact, pendentives with their surfaces carved in the form of mugarnases.

As for Aleppo and Northern Syria, there are many methods employed in the transition zone and most of them exhibit variations in the use of pendentives. The dome usually rests on the octagonal base or the dodecagonal one; this is directly formed by the pendentives without the insertion of a drum.<sup>4</sup> When it is necessary to raise the dome, the architect builds an octagonal drum which is converted into a

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1. Infra, p. 319 .

2. See supra, p.168 .

3. See supra, p.138 .

4. Cf. the dome of the prayer hall in al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtīya, the lateral domes in the prayer halls of Mashhad al-Muḥassin, Mashhad al-Ḥusain and al-Madrassa al-Zāhiriyya, the dome of the prayer hall of al-Madrassa al-Sultāniyya, all the domes of al-Firdūs except the central dome of the prayer hall, and the lateral domes of al-Madrassa al-Kāmiliyya.

sixteen-sided<sup>1</sup> or twelve-sided figure<sup>2</sup> by means of lozenge-shaped bevelled corbels. Small longitudinal windows are set in this octagonal drum. This sort of transition zone is always constructed with cut stone of fine joints.

A drum unique to the Ayyūbid period is found in room A of the northern annexe of Mashhad al-Ḥusain, where eight semi-cylindrical niches form the octagonal drum crowning the square base. The octagonal drum is terminated by eight small pendentives to form the sixteen-sided base of the dome.

Mugarnases in their highly developed phase are used for transforming the square base into other forms nearer to the circle. They were employed in the transition zone of the central domes of most of the prayer halls in Ayyūbid madrasas and other public buildings of Aleppo.<sup>3</sup> In construction, the mugarnases of the transition zones are similar to those of the portals.<sup>4</sup>

Squinces of various types were used. There is no typical scheme in the construction of the squinces in Aleppo as there is in those of Damascus. The scattered examples of Aleppo and Northern Syria - Mashhad al-Muḥassin, Mashhad al-Ḥusain, Jāmi' al-Nūrī and al-Madrassa al-Ẓāhiriya - each has a different type from those in other buildings.

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1. Cf. the central dome of the prayer hall in al-Madrassa al-Ẓāhiriya and the turba in al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya.

2. Cf. the domes of Maqām al-Nabī Yūsha'.

3. See the central domes of the prayer halls in Mashhad al-Muḥassin, Mashhad al-Ḥusain, al-Madrassa al-Ẓāhiriya, al-Firdūs, Khānqāh al-Farāfra, al-Madrassa al-Sharafiya and al-Madrassa al-Kāmiliya.

4. See infra, p. 332 .

In general, many motifs are employed in the construction of the transition zones. Some of these were commonly used in the Ayyūbid domes of Syria, such as the squinches, pendentives and stalactites which are dealt with in detail below.<sup>1</sup>

Other motifs adopted in contemporary domes in Anatolia and Mesopotamia include corbels, geometrical stalactites and Turkish triangles, but their influence on Ayyūbid domes in Syria was almost nil.

Corbels are usually used in small domes where triangular shelf-like structures are set across the corners to transform the square base into a circular one. They were used for example in Ukhaiḍir<sup>2</sup> and they were used in a different form in the central dome of the madrasa of Gümüshtegīn, Buṣra<sup>3</sup> which dates from 530/1138. The pendentives of this dome are composed of oversailing courses of stone.

Geometrical mugarnases occur throughout Islamic architecture in different forms. Undoubtedly all the forms of geometrical mugarnases derive from curved mugarnases. In Mesopotamia, there are three kinds of geometrical mugarnases:

1. "Cubical mugarnases". The earliest dated example occurs in Maqām Sitt Zainab in Sinjār<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 380) which is dated 646/1248. They are composed of multiplied half-cubical figures starting with a triangular corbel and arranged in courses.<sup>5</sup> The number of half-cubical figures increases in

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1. See infra, pp. 315-338 .

2. See O. Reuther, Ocheidir (Leipzig, 1921), p. 16.

3. On this madrasa see Creswell, MAE, II, pp. 107-8.

4. On this building see Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., I, pp. 10-12 and II, pp. 308-311 ; 'Abbū, op.cit., pp. 219-220.

5. On these mugarnases see 'Abbū, op.cit., loc. cit.

each course. This type of muqarnas was employed in Anatolia under the name of "Turkish triangles".

2. "Prismatic muqarnases". This kind of muqarnas is found for the first time in the monastery of Mār Bahnām, 35km. to the south-east of Mosul,<sup>1</sup> which is dated 559/1164. It is found also in a turba in Sinjār called Qubbat Wīlāda,<sup>2</sup> dated 594/1198. This kind of muqarnas is composed of prisms with different shapes, each reflecting the base which is completely exposed. They are triangular, square, lozenge-shaped, oblong, star-like, and almond-shaped among other forms (Fig. 381).

3. The third kind in this group is represented in the muqarnases of Imām 'Awn al-Dīn<sup>3</sup> which is dated 646/1248, and Mashhad Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qāsim<sup>4</sup> which is dated 637/1239. Both these buildings are in Mosul. Their muqarnases are derived directly from curved muqarnases but the curves have disappeared here. The whole complex is formed by plane surfaces of different forms meeting others in sharp edges (Fig. 382).

4. Another method of transition zone is employed in Anatolia in the Green Mosque at Bursa,<sup>5</sup> 1421, in the Yeşil Cami at Iznik which was built between 780/1378 and 794/1391,<sup>6</sup> and in the Beyazit Pāsha Cami at Amasya, which was built

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1. Ibid., pp. 72-80.

2. Ibid., pp. 110-114; G. Reitlinger, "Medieval Antiquities West of Mosul", Iraq, V, part 2 (1938), pp. 151-2.

3. 'Abbū, op.cit., pp. 147-158; Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., II, pp. 263

4. Ibid., II, pp. 249-53

5. See Ünsal, op.cit., pp. 22, 102-3 and Figs. 7, 46-49.

6. G. Goodwin, "A History of Ottoman Architecture" (London, 1971), pp. 22-3 and Figs. 9-10.

between 817/1414 and 822/1419.<sup>1</sup> This method consists of triangular surfaces meeting others to form facets; those on the corners project toward the centre more sharply than the lateral ones (Fig. 383).

Another kind of "prismatic mugarnas" is found in the Qal'at Banī Hammād in Algeria, which is dated to the 10th-11th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> It is composed of groups of combined prisms, each starting with one prism; the numbers are increased in the following courses. Each of these prisms has a square base, which is exposed to view, and the only two sides of the prism which are exposed are fluted (Fig. 384).<sup>3</sup>

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1. G. Goodwin, op.cit., p. 78 and Fig. 75.

2. Marçais, "Manuel", I, pp. 103-5.

3. Ibid., I, pp. 151-3.



## Section 4.

## The Pendentives

The pendentive can briefly be described as a segment of a dome. It is a spherical triangle of brick or stone filling the space between the arches supporting the dome, the base curving upward and forward until its angles meet those of its two neighbours on either side at the crowns of the adjoining arches; at this level the dome rises from a horizontal ring of masonry.<sup>1</sup> There are two varieties of the spherical pendentive. In the first the pendentive and the dome have different spherical planes and curves; this has been called the true pendentive<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 285A). In the second the curve of the dome is continuous with the pendentives; there is no break in the profile at the apex of the supporting arches. This has been termed the continuous spherical pendentive<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 385B). The majority of Syrian pendentives of the Ayyūbid period cannot be classified within this definition.

Before dealing with the construction of the Ayyūbid pendentive and its distribution in Syria, one must trace its origin and its early forms.

Remains of early attempts to make what one can accurately describe as pendentives are found in many places - Syria, Egypt, Italy and Anatolia. There are many different opinions and continuous disputes about their origin. The most

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1. Dalton, op.cit., p. 85.

2. G.T. Rivoira, "Lombardic Architecture" (Oxford, 1933), I, p. 33.

3. G.L. Bell and W. Ramsay, "The Thousand and One Churches" (London, 1909), p. 443.



important early pendentives are included here simply because some of them are the precursors of pendentives used in Syria in the Ayyūbid period. The earliest phase of the pendentive is said to have been in Egypt, in a tomb building containing a square chamber measuring 2.40m. a side. It was originally roofed by a dome but this dome has disappeared leaving the pendentives almost untouched.<sup>1</sup> They are composed of about nine oversailing courses of brick, the lowest of which is a single brick set lintel-wise across the angle while those above form a series of quarter circles each slightly larger than that below it<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 386). The building is attributed to the 15th century B.C.<sup>3</sup> Almost the same design of corbelled pendentives is found in Kerch in the Crimea in a domed mausoleum known as the Royal Tumulus. This mausoleum is square, measuring 4.50m. per side and roofed by a cone-shaped dome consisting of twelve diminishing rings of masonry. The transition zone between the square base and the circular one is effected by progressively rounding the fifth to the ninth courses at the corners. This building dates from the 6th or the 5th century B.C.<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 387).

There is another example of primitive corbelled pendentives in 'Ammān, in a Roman tomb building. The dome is set on a square base. The transition to the circular base is effected by a course of stones projecting inwards over

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1. H. Pieron, "Un Tombeau Égyptien À Coupole Sur Pendentifs" B.I.F.A.O. VI (1906), pp. 173-7.

2. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 306.

3. Pieron, op.cit., p. 174.

4. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 306; Hamilton, op.cit., p. 50.

the angle<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 388).

An improvement on this device is found at Umm al-Zaitūn in the Hawrān in a small shrine, 5.80 x 5.80m., dating from 282 A.D. It was covered originally by a dome but it has fallen into ruin. The pendentives, however, still remain in good condition. The transition zone is carried out by means of four slabs producing an irregular octagon. A course of dressed stone is set on the octagon in such a way as to project horizontally over the angles. Two courses, placed in this fashion, transform the original square into a polygon with thirty-two unequal sides<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 389). This attempt is suggested as being the prototype from which was ultimately derived the stalactite pendentive<sup>3</sup> which was very common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Creswell opposes this theory for two reasons. The first is that one of the most remarkable features of the Syrian stalactite pendentive is that each tier of niches always runs in a straight line across the angle instead of being curved in plan. The second is that even if the bricks or blocks of stone were set across the angle in the manner suggested by the theory we do not get, as some are inclined to think, the circular form. On the contrary there will still be a serious gap between the circular base of the dome and the top tier of niches, for each tier advances very little in the

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1. On this building see Conder, "The Survey of Eastern Palestine", pp. 43-5; Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 308; Hamilton, op.cit., p. 45.

2. Creswell, "EMA", pp. 308-9; Hamilton, op.cit., pp. 44-5.

3. C. Diehl, "Manuel d'Art Byzantin" (Paris, 1925-6), I, p. 39.

angles of the dome as distinct from the axes.<sup>1</sup> However, it can be suggested confidently that the two over-sailed courses of Umm al-Zaitūn are the prototype of the lozenge-shaped corbel commonly used in the transition zones of many Ayyūbid domes in Aleppo.

In Ruwaiḥa, where stands the mausoleum of Bizzoz which dates from the sixth century A.D., no attempt was made to employ pendentives for the support of the dome. The plan of this building is a Greek cross within a square (Fig. 379A). The haunches of the arches are built up level so that the top of the cube presents a square platform with a square opening in the middle. The dome is set up above this platform in such a way that it does not touch the outer edge of the platform nor cut across its inner angles. No flat stones were placed across the angles.<sup>2</sup>

A better example of what may be termed a pendentive is found in a domed tetrapylon in Ladakia in northern Syria. The base on which the dome is placed is not square but oblong. The pendentives are flat triangles inclined inwards. The regular octagonal base thus formed is provided with a very salient cornice which allows the lower circle of the dome to be set on the pendentives without cutting across the angles. To compensate for the inequality of the two sides of the oblong, the little piece of wall above each short side is inclined inwards (Fig. 378). The walls are constructed with perfectly cut stone.<sup>3</sup> This building is dated to the third century A.D. The pendentives of this dome

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1. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 309.

2. Butler, "Architecture", p. 248; "EMA", I, p. 310.

3. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 309; Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 56.

are clearly a prototype from which the Ayyūbid pyramidal pendentives could have been derived. Choisy credits Anatolia with the invention of this device<sup>1</sup> although we find the same lack of satisfactory pendentives and the same dearth of satisfactory attempts to solve the problem. He developed the idea that it arose out of the Eastern practice of building vaults in thin bricks laid not in beds but on edges so as to avoid centering.<sup>2</sup> However, G.L. Bell believes that the pendentive was not known in Asia Minor till towards the tenth century.<sup>3</sup>

Rivoira, who strongly supports the case for Italy, bases his theory on some examples showing in fact no improvement over the above-mentioned attempts. The earliest attempt in Italy is found in Vitulonia, in an Etruscan tomb assigned to the seventh century B.C.<sup>4</sup> The dome itself has disappeared but the pendentives still remain.<sup>5</sup> As in the early attempts in Egypt and Kerch, the "pendentive" here are really a corbelled system composed of five courses of rough blocks, the lowest consisting of one only, set across each angle and with each course projecting beyond the one below.

In the substructure of Domus Augustana on the Palatine, which was built by Domitian (c. 69 A.D.), there are two

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1. A. Choisy, "Histoire de l'Architecture" (Paris, n.d.) II, p. 11.
  2. Ibid., p. 75.
  3. Bell and Ramsay, op.cit., p. 442.
  4. G.T. Rivoira, "Roman Architecture", translated from Italian by G. Rushforth (Oxford, 1925), p. 158 and Fig. 191.
  5. This building has been re-erected in the gardens of the museum of Florence.

eight-sided rooms. The octagon in each is produced by recesses taken out of the angles and above these the vault rises, passing gradually from the straight-sided base to the spherical form till it reaches the keystone opening at the top.<sup>1</sup> Creswell emphasizes the fact that no spherical triangle pendentives are to be seen in this example and the remains, which are rough, may quite well be the remains of an intersecting vault.<sup>2</sup>

The other domed buildings in Italy are said to have spherical pendentives. The first is a sepulchral edifice dating from the second century A.D. on the Via Nomentana, popularly known as Sedia del Diavolo.<sup>3</sup> The other building is a tomb by the Casale dei Pazzi and is also dated to the second century.<sup>4</sup> However, neither of the pendentives of the two buildings are of truly spherical form and should more rightly be classified as a development of the corbel.<sup>5</sup> The horizontal sections of these pendentives are almost flat and their inner surfaces are inclined planes and not portions of a hemisphere.<sup>6</sup> Even to Rivoira himself, the "pendentives" are not truly spherical, but "rude triangles which are flat instead of bellying out like a sail with the wind".<sup>7</sup>

Probably the most clearly spherical pendentive among the examples of Rivoira is that of Ravenna, in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia. It was built c. 450 A.D. Its plan is that

1. Rivoira, "Roman Architecture", pp. 107-8.

2. "EMA", I, p. 311.

3. Rivoira, "Lombardic Architecture", I, p. 36 and Fig. 50.

4. Idem, "Roman Architecture", pp. 132-5.

5. Hamilton, op.cit., p. 51.

6. Ibid., loc.cit.; Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 312.

7. Rivoira, "Roman Architecture", p. 108.

of a cross with arms of unequal length<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 390). The central square base is roofed by a vault resting on 'pendentives' described as spherical. The vault is constructed of brick and its extrados is covered with amphorae set in a bed of mortar on which the tiles rest.<sup>2</sup> Creswell refutes Rivoira's theory, for the interior of the dome and its transition zone have been covered by a thick coating of mosaic decoration and he believes that these pendentives may be an optical illusion caused by the mosaic decoration. Moreover, an examination of the extrados of the dome during the repairs to the roof which were carried out in the beginning of this century showed that the dome was constructed of an ascending spiral of earthenware pipes.<sup>3</sup> However, Rivoira himself admits that Italy is still lacking a clear example of spherical pendentive and until fresh discoveries are made, the Byzantines, he says, must have the credit for developing pendentives into their perfect form.<sup>4</sup>

#### Early Phases of Spherical Pendentives

Everything goes to suggest that the pendentive was a Syrian device, for the earliest dated surviving example is found there, and Syria still possesses a series of attempts showing the development of ~~the~~ pendentives from their early stages until the appearance of the clear spherical form.

The pendentives of Qaṣr al-Nuwayjī are regarded as the

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1. Rivoira, "Lombardic Architecture", I, p. 22.
  2. Ibid.; idem, "Roman Architecture", p. 261.
  3. "EMA", I, p. 319.
  4. Rivoira, "Roman Architecture", p. 157.



earliest continuous spherical pendentives.<sup>1</sup> The building is dated by some to the second century A.D.;<sup>2</sup> others date it more precisely to the later part of that century.<sup>3</sup> The building is a mausoleum, consisting of one domed chamber. It is situated at the outskirts of 'Ammān. It is roofed with a dome of continuous pendentives between arches which extend to the outer walls. The pendentives are true spherical triangles and, with the dome, form a hemisphere pierced by the four arches (Fig. 391). There thus exists in Syria a building with completely developed continuous pendentives of much earlier date than any similar spherical pendentives in the West.<sup>4</sup>

Similar pendentives are found in the bathhouse at Jarash (Gerasa)(Fig. 392). Creswell dates this not later than the first half of the third century.<sup>5</sup>

There is also a pagan tomb at Samaria dated by Creswell to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century.<sup>6</sup> It consists of a square chamber preceded by a portico on four columns which extends the whole width of the façade. It is roofed by a shallow dome resting on four

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1. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 313; Hamilton, op.cit., p. 52; Conder, "Survey of Eastern Palestine", I, pp. 172-4; R. Traquair, "The Origin of the Pendentive", J.R.I.B.A. XXXV (1927-8), Third Series, p. 185.
  2. Conder, "The Survey of Eastern Palestine", p. 174.
  3. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 314. Rivoira believes that the dating of this building is unsupported by valid argument or parallels ("Roman Architecture", p. 172).
  4. Hamilton, op.cit., p. 52.
  5. Creswell, "EMA", p. 314. On this building see too H. Sisson, "Roman Architecture in Jerash", J.R.I.B.A. XXXV (1927-8), Third Series, p. 99.
  6. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 315.



spherical triangular pendentives of five courses of masonry (Fig. 393). A similar example is found in Egypt in the mausoleum of St. Menas at Marūt which represents the earliest known practical application of this device outside Syria. It was built between 355-395 A.D. It consists of a small chamber only 2.35m. square roofed by a shallow dome resting on spherical triangular pendentives.<sup>1</sup> Further development of the pendentive occurs in two domed buildings at Jerusalem dated by de Vogüé to the fifth or at least the sixth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> ~~and~~ they are assigned by Creswell to Justinian.<sup>3</sup> The first is called the Golden Gate and the other is called the Double Gate.

The evolution of the pendentive is continued in the early Islamic period in Syria, where it can be seen in the baths in Qusair 'Amra and Hammām al-Ṣarākh<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 394). The continuous pendentives and their origin have been discussed above. Independent pendentives, which do not exist in Syria, are represented in their highly developed form in Sancta Sophia in Constantinople. It was started by Justinian in 532 A.D. and was completed in 537 A.D. The present dome, which measures 32.16m. in diameter, is not the original one, for the original building was demolished by an earthquake in

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1. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 319.

2. De Vogüé, "Le Temple", pp. 64 and 88.

3. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 316. See also Rivoira, "Roman Architecture", p. 174 and idem, "Lombardic Architecture", II, p. 20.

4. Creswell, "EMA", I, pp. 253-288.

558<sup>1</sup> A.D. and was then rebuilt; it was restored at intervals in the succeeding centuries. Creswell suggests that the original dome was constructed with continuous pendentives but that at the rebuilding a different design was employed and that this incorporated independent pendentives<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 395). There are grounds for believing that independent pendentives originate in Sancta Sophia and it was the very size of the dome which led to their discovery.<sup>3</sup>

#### Syrian Pendentives in the Ayyūbid Period

We have very few examples to enable us to follow the development of pendentives between the Umayyad period (for instance those of Ḥammām al-Šarākh or Quṣair 'Amra) and the Seljūq period. However, there were two kinds of pendentive in the Ayyūbid period; the pyramidal pendentive and the pendentive which is a cross between the pyramidal and spherical ones. Each type is confined to a certain part of Syria.

Pyramidal pendentives were employed in Northern Syria, particularly in Aleppo, and the second kind was employed in Damascus. Besides these, stalactite pendentives were used, though on a very small scale, in the turba of al-Madrasa al-

1. Rivoira attributes the fall of the dome to the poor workmanship of the eastern builders who were employed in building the church ("Roman Architecture" pp. 276-8).
2. Creswell, "EMA", I, pp. 331-2.
3. Ibid.; Traquair op.cit., p. 185. The latter suggests that the pendentives themselves may have been arisen in a semi-accidental way. The Roman employers wanted an intersecting barrel vault; the eastern workmen were more accustomed to domes and the combination of the two methods produced the pendentive (op.cit., p. 187).

"Ādiliya and in one of the domes of al-Madrassa al-Zāhiriya at Aleppo. The first kind, the pyramidal pendentive, is a Syrian creation and originates in the northern part of Syria where it is still commonly employed. It seems that there is no connection between these pendentives and the spherical ones. They developed independently from classical buildings such as the dome of Ladakia (Fig. 378). Pyramidal pendentives were preferred in Syria, probably because they have the advantage of occupying only part of the quarter circumference while the spherical pendentive becomes awkward unless it fills the space.<sup>1</sup> The other reason for preferring pyramidal pendentives was that one can choose either the angle of the pyramid or that of the intersection of its sides with the vertical walls, which makes it easy both to design and to construct.<sup>2</sup>

All pyramidal pendentives are constructed to transform the square base into either an octagonal or a dodecagonal zone. The pendentive is a section of an octagonal pyramid if it forms an octagonal zone, and it is a section of a dodecagonal pyramid if it forms a twelve-sided zone.

A cross between the pyramidal pendentive of Aleppo and the spherical pendentive is employed in Damascus. This pendentive consists of two triangles with concave surfaces meeting others along the corner of the square base and covering the whole of the spandrels of the arches. The

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. II", p. 55.

2. Ibid., p. 56.

upper edge of this pendentive forms a part of a dodecagon with an obtuse angle of  $150^{\circ}$ . Unlike the pyramidal pendentives this kind was constructed only to form a regular twelve-sided zone.<sup>1</sup> From the four examples surviving in Damascus one can conclude that it was employed commonly in the middle of the 7th/13th century and later. There are three dated examples in Damascus, al-Turba al-‘Ālima (640/1242), al-Turba al-Qaimariya (653/1255), and al-Madrasa al-Qilījiya (651/1253), as well as one without an inscription. This turba is datable to 597/1200 on historical grounds,<sup>2</sup> but this date cannot be regarded as fully established.

The only spherical pendentives in the Ayyūbid period are those of the dome of al-Madrasa al-Ḥalāwiya, which was built after the style of the original Byzantine cathedral<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 396).

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1. This kind of pendentive occurs in Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam, al-Turba al-‘Ālima, and al-Turba al-Qaimariya.

2. Supra, p. 59 .

3. Supra, p. 200 .

## Section 5.

## The Squinches

The history of squinches before the Islamic period

The squinch is a diminutive vault or niche built across the angle of a square chamber. This square is formed either by the four walls or by the four arches which support the transition zone.

As in the case of pendentives, there are many different opinions about the homeland of the squinch. Each of these opinions is based on some surviving examples of the early attempts at this device. Examples of early attempts at squinches occur in Central Asia. In Bāmiyān, there are no less than five rock-hewn sanctuaries which can only have been excavated by men who were familiar with domes resting on squinches of the Fīrūzābād type. These date from the last years of the third century.<sup>1</sup>

Another example occurs in Mīrān where the remains of the lower part of an ancient structure have been found. Enough has survived of the inside of the building to show that the interior comprised a small room roofed by a hemispherical dome. The dome rested on an octagonal base formed by four squinches spanning the corners of the square base. The dome was constructed of corbelled courses of brick. The vaulting system of the squinches is effected by voussoirs of burnt bricks which are set so as to form a succession of pointed arches each gradually reduced in height and width exactly as

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1. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 108.

at Fīrūzābād.<sup>1</sup> This building dates from the third or early fourth century.<sup>2</sup>

Anatolia has some examples of the early phases of squinches, probably the clearest example being those of Alahan Monastir. The building has three aisles. A part of the central one was roofed by a dome which has collapsed leaving its squinches.<sup>3</sup> In each corner of the square base there is a blind niche supported on either side by a small column resting on a corbel bracket which resembles those of Mashhad al-Ḥusain and Ruṣāfa (Fig. 397). This example is omitted by Rivoira because, according to him, it contains no trace of curves and it possesses no indication of date.<sup>4</sup> However, Krautheimer dates the building to the second half of the 5th century.<sup>5</sup>

Squinches of similar construction occur in Ruṣāfa<sup>6</sup> in the Basilica of Sergius. There is a square salient on either side of the apse divided into three storeys and the top room on either side is converted into an octagon by squinch arches carried on little columns which stand free on brackets. It is noticeable here that the squinch itself has taken the semi-dome or 'hood' form for the first time<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 398). Sarre, who was the first to publish this building,

1. A Stein, "Serindia", (Oxford, 1921), I, pp. 335-6, apud Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 108.

2. Stein, op.cit., I, p. 338, apud Creswell, "EMA", II, p.108.

3. R. Krautheimer, "Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture" (London, 1965), p. 179 and pl. 88.

4. Rivoira, "Moslem Architecture", p. 131.

5. Krautheimer, op.cit., p. 177, and n. 18 on p. 339.

6. Ruṣāfa is situated in the northern part of Syria and is classified here simply because of its connection with Alahan Monastir.

7. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 110.



attributed it to the Emperor Anastasius and placed it before A.D. 501, the year which marked the beginning of the Persian War.<sup>1</sup> Guyer, who bases his interpretation on architectural grounds, believes that the church cannot date from so early a period and puts it in the latter part of the sixth century, between 565 and 600 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

There is another example in the church of the Virgin at Khākh in the Tūr 'Abdīn. The squinches here are semi-domes, the back part and front corners of which oversail the wall, whereas the part between curves back behind it. The usual semi-cylindrical lower part is lacking. These squinches are the first examples of this type.<sup>3</sup> Guyer places the church in the seventh century<sup>4</sup> and Gertrude Bell stresses its early date,<sup>5</sup> though she does not attempt to date it precisely.

Armenia, which is said to have played an important part in the development of this feature,<sup>6</sup> still retains some early examples. One of these examples is found in Talin in the Church of the Virgin, which dates from 630 or 690 A.D.<sup>7</sup> Another example occurs in Alaman in the Ananias Church which

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1. F. Sarre, "Monatsheft für Kunstwissenschaft" II, p. 107, apud "EMA", II, p. 111.
  2. S. Guyer, "Ruṣāfa" in Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., II, pp. 6-13.
  3. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 111.
  4. Ibid., II, p. 111.
  5. G.L. Bell, "The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdīn" in M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, "Amida" (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 258-62.
  6. J. Strzygowski, "Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa" (Vienna, 1918), pp. 36-37, apud "EMA", II, pp. 111-3.
  7. Ibid., pp. 50-2.



has the first exactly dated squinch in Armenia. The building bears an inscription showing that the church was built in 636-7 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The third Armenian example occurs in the Cathedral of Mren which, according to an inscription, was built in 639 or 640 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Finally there is the church of Mastara which dates from the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> It has a large dome 11.20m. in diameter set on squinches. On the evidence of an inscription on the building Strzygowski dates it about 650 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

In all the Armenian examples it is noticeable that the squinch consists of a frontal arch of semi-circular form behind which is a small shell-shaped half-cone laid horizontally so that its apex touches the corner of the square below the dome and so that the vauissors of which it is composed radiate fanwise from the back of the shell thus formed.<sup>5</sup> According to Creswell there are only two early examples of squinches in Syria and they were employed in connexion with semi-domes only. One of them is in the citadel at 'Amman which appears to have been added as a monumental entrance to an earlier structure. The squinch here has no frontal arch nor indeed any arched construction whatever, the back corner of the īwān being increasingly rounded so as to obtain a semi-circular base for the semi-dome; it is described as a counterfeited squinch.<sup>6</sup> These squinches date from the end of the sixth

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1. Strzygowski, "Baukunst", pp. 36-7, 160-1, apud Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 112.

2. Ibid., pp. 41-4, 182-4, apud "EMA", p. 112.

3. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 112.

4. Strzygowski, "Baukunst", pp. 44-6 and 74-6, apud "EMA", II, p. 113.

5. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 113.

6. Ibid., II, pp. 113-4; cf. supra, p.

century.<sup>1</sup> The other example of an early squinch, which is regarded as the only true squinch in Syria, is that of Qaşr Kharāna. This building is thought to be a pre-Islamic one.<sup>2</sup>

In Egypt, in Suhāg, there are two monasteries called Dair al-Abiaḍ and Dair al-Aḥmar dated to the early part or the middle of the Vth century A.D.<sup>3</sup> Each of these buildings now has a dome resting on squinches. Both domes are later additions. Dair al-Abiaḍ was roofed originally by a wooden ceiling.<sup>4</sup> Four piers were added in the centre of the nave to form a square base (Fig. 399) which was roofed by the present dome. This addition was probably carried out between 1250 and 1261 A.D.<sup>5</sup> As for Dair al-Aḥmar, there was a timber roof and not a dome over the space now covered by the principal dome of the church. The wall and the arches here were not strong enough to bear a masonry covering.<sup>6</sup> Each of the squinches - which now have four columns, two at the corners and two others in the front bearing the frontal arch - originally consisted of two recesses like the axial recesses which now separate the squinches<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 400).

In Italy, there are some sporadic examples of early attempts to make squinches. Rivoira believes that the oldest specimens of squinches are to be found in San Giovanni in Fonte, which was built between 465 and 486<sup>8</sup> and

1. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 114.

2. Ibid., loc. cit. However, it may well be Islamic.

3. On these two buildings see S. Clarke, "Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley" (Oxford, 1912), pp. 145-71.

4. Ibid., p. 159.

5. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 116.

6. Clarke, op.cit., p. 164.

7. Guyer, "Ruṣāfa", pp. 10-11 and Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 114.

8. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 113; Rivoira, "Lombardic Architecture", I, p. 192; idem, "Roman Architecture", p. 136.

adjoins the Cathedral of Naples, and in San Vitale at Ravenna,<sup>1</sup> which was begun after 525 and finished by 546.<sup>2</sup> The Cathedral of Naples occupies an area about 8m. square with a dome resting on squinches. The squinches at San Vitale are only used to convert the octagon into a circle, which is a much less difficult problem than the conversion of a square into an octagon.<sup>3</sup> These are the only known examples on Italian soil before the eleventh century. This may be explained as being due to oriental influence.<sup>4</sup>

All the evidence goes to suggest the oriental origin of squinches. In Persia there is a complete sequence of examples of the early attempts to build squinches, showing the very slow and simple development of this motif in its early phases. It is represented by three examples, in the three Sasanian palaces of Fīrūzābād, Sarvistān and Qaṣr-i-Shīrīn.

Fīrūzābād (Figs. 401-402) has three elliptical domes, each about 13m. in diameter. It is built of rough stonework.<sup>5</sup> The palace of Sarvistān (Figs. 403-404) has three domes of

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1. Rivoira, "Moslem Architecture", p. 124. Rivoira calls these squinches "vaulted pendentives" and "niche pendentives".

2. Rivoira, "Lombardic Architecture", p. 50.

3. Creswell, "EMA", p. 113.

4. Ibid., loc.cit.

5. For the basic material on which my discussion of the palaces of Fīrūzābād and Sarvistān is based see E. Flandin and P. Coste, "Voyage en Perse", (Paris, 1843-54), I, pp. 23-27 and 36-45; M. Dieulafoy, "L'Art Antique de la Perse" IV (Paris, 1885), pp. 59-76; O. Reuther, "Sāsānian Architecture", "Survey", I, pp. 534-7.

different size asymmetrically placed. Like Fīrūzābād it is built of rough stonework, but the dome itself is constructed with baked brick. Flandin and Coste date the two palaces in the Sasanian period and Fīrūzābād, on account of its name, to 458-82 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Rivoira considers Qaṣr-i Shīrīn, which is dated by Reuther to between 590 and 628 A.D., as the oldest surviving example of a Sasanian domed building.<sup>2</sup> However the palace of Fīrūzābād should almost certainly be assigned to the third century,<sup>3</sup> and Sarvistān to the fifth century<sup>4</sup> or possibly to the first third of the third century.<sup>5</sup> The other example of this series is to be found at a short distance to the east of Fīrūzābād in the Farāshband Valley.<sup>6</sup> The building consists of a dome resting on a square base formed by four piers joined by arches. The transition zone consists of squinches resembling those of Fīrūzābād rather than Sarvistān;<sup>7</sup> for this reason it has been dated between these two buildings.<sup>8</sup>

The final and best example of the Sasanian squinch is to be found in Qaṣr-i Shīrīn. Qaṣr-i Shīrīn consists of a

1. Flandin and Coste, op.cit., I, pp. 27 and 40.
2. Rivoira, "Moslem Architecture", p. 124. Rivoira dates the building to 590-628, or to the first Abbasid Caliph ("Roman Architecture", p. 107).
3. A.U. Pope, "Persian Architecture" (London, 1965), p. 50. But Creswell dates the building to 220-242 A.D. ("EMA", II, pp. 104-5).
4. Pope, "Persian Architecture", p. 59. Some scholars date the palace of Sarvistān to the middle of the fourth century (e.g. J. Fergusson, "A History of Architecture" (London, 1893) I, p. 397).
5. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 105.
6. It was discovered by Dieulafoy (op.cit., IV, pp. 77-8, Figs. 56-7 and Pl. XVIII).
7. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 107.
8. Ibid., loc.cit.

citadel called Qal'at-i Khusrau and two palaces known as 'Imārat-i Khusrau and Chahār Qāpū. They date from 590-628 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Chahār Qāpū (Figs. 405-406) contains a free-standing domed hall 16.15m. per side internally with walls 3.90m. thick. This hall was roofed with a dome resting on squinches which, both in construction and material, are exactly similar to those of Sarvistān except that they are possibly a shade nearer to the semi-dome form which later became the rule.<sup>2</sup> In addition to this dome the building contained at least nine other domes on squinches.

The construction of the squinch at Fīrūzābād is well explained in a drawing of Rosintal (Fig. 407). "It is a recumbent half-cone. Between the squinches the wall is built up vertically at BB and then filled in as far as the face of the squinch, so that its surface Bb, Dd, has no precise geometrical form, although it is practically circular at the level of the crown of the squinches. Between the corners of the lower walls and the crown of the squinch the groin gradually disappears pD and mA".<sup>3</sup> The squinch itself is composed of parallel arches but as these arches approach the corners they tend to become more and more pointed owing to the size of the slabs of which they are constructed<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 407).

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1. On Qaṣr-i Shīrīn, see Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 107, and Reuther, "Sāsānian Architecture", "Survey", I, pp. 539-43 and 552-4.

2. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 107.

3. J. Rosintal and E. Schroeder, "Squinches and pendentives", in "Survey", II, pp. 1252-3.

4. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 106.

In Sarvistān, the squinch shows a very simple development towards the semi-dome, but it is still a semi-cone. Centering is said to have been used in the construction of the squinches of Sarvistān. The squinch is composed of horizontal courses of stone<sup>1</sup> instead of being vertical as in Fīrūzābād and the transition zone is marked here by two frames of baked brick arranged diagonally. The idea of the semi-domed squinch became more clear in Qaṣr-ī Shīrīn.

#### Development of Squinches in the Early Islamic Period

The earliest example of Islamic squinches directly influenced by the Sasanian ones is that of Ukhaiḍir<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 408). The south side of the prayer hall of Ukhaiḍir is roofed by a barrel vault ending with two semi-domes and each of these semi-domes rests on two small fluted squinches in the form of semi-domes.

The next step in the development of the squinch is the "stilted squinch" which consists, basically, of a semi-cylindrical lower part topped by a semi-dome. The earliest example of this kind is found in Bāb al-ʿĀmma at Sāmarrā<sup>3</sup> dated 221/835 (Fig. 409). This form of the squinch led to the development of other types. It became an arch with two stilts spanning the corner, and the space behind it was covered

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1. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 106.

2. On the domes of Ukhaiḍir see G.L. Bell, "Palace and Mosque at Ukhaiḍir" (Oxford, 1914), p. 18; *idem*, "The vaulting system of Ukheidar", The Journal of Hellenic Studies, XXX, (1910) pp. 79-80; O. Reuther, "Ocheīdir" (Leipzig, 1912), p. 16.

3. J. Rosintal, "Pendentifs, Trompes et Stalactites dans l'Architecture Orientale" (Paris, 1928), p. 47. On Bāb al-ʿĀmma, see "EMA", II, pp. 232-3.



by a semi-dome. Almost all of the Ayyūbid squinches of Damascus are of this kind.

The inside of the stilted squinch in Persia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt is sometimes divided into a group of muqarnases. These are arranged to support the crown of the frontal arch of the squinch; this became necessary to make the squinch strong enough to bear the second drum of the transition zone.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Persian examples are to be found in Yazd, in the Duvāzda Imām which dates from 429/1037<sup>2</sup> and in Iṣfahān in the north and south domes of the Masjid-i Jāmi<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 410), which date from the reign of Malikshāh (465-85/1072-92). The Mesopotamian examples are found in Imām Dūr (479/1086) and al-Arbaʿīn<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 411), which dates from the 5th/11th century. The earliest Egyptian example is found in Masjid al-Sayyida Ruqqiya<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 412) which dates from 527/1133. However, this characteristic, i.e. the division of the inside of the squinch, does not occur in the Ayyūbid squinches of Damascus. This is probably due to the size of the domes, for the largest Ayyūbid dome in Damascus, which is that of Ṭurkhān, covers an area of only 7m. square and the spans of the arches of the squinches are not so wide as those of the Masjid-i-Jāmi<sup>6</sup> of Iṣfahān and thus need no strengthening. Squinches are also used in the

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1. J. Rosintal, "L'Origine des Stalactites de l'Architecture Orientale", (Paris, 1938), p. 7.

2. On this building see "Survey", II, pp. 1001-4.

3. Rosintal, "L'Origine", p. 7.

4. On Imām Dūr and al-Arbaʿīn see Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., II, pp. 231ff., and Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", pp. 18-24.

5. On this building see Creswell, "MAE", I, pp. 247-53; Fikrī, "Masājid", I, pp. 103-9.



transition from the octagonal base into the sixteen-sided one, but these squinches are shallow and slender.

In Aleppo and Northern Syria, where pendentives are commonly employed, the squinches of the Damascus type are totally absent. There is no characteristic type of squinch in the Ayyūbid domes of Aleppo and many different designs are used. These squinches were of secondary importance compared to the pendentives. In the northern dome of Jāmi' al-Nūrī at Ḥamā, the squinches are semi-domes and the lower semi-cylindrical parts are very low. In Rooms A and D in Mashhad al-Muḥassin and in the turba of al-Madrassa al-Ẓāhiriyya al-Barrāniyya the squinches are different. They are arches spanning the corners, with their soffits wider at the top than at the springers, and the space between the front of the arches and the corners is partly hidden by inclined planes. In Mashhad al-Ḥusain, another type of squinch is found in room A in the northern annexe. Each of its four squinches consists of a semi-cylindrical lower part topped by a semi-dome. The frontal arch of the squinch is supported by a pair of free-standing columns resting on small brackets. This squinch recalls the above-mentioned squinches of Alahan and Ruṣāfa.

## Section 6.

## The Muqarnases

Muqarnas is the name for an ornamental frame or continuous bracket supporting an overhanging wall or concealing the transition from one angle to another. Other terms have been used for it, such as "stalactite" or "honeycomb work".<sup>1</sup> The essential element of the muqarnases is a projecting niche-like quarter-dome unsupported at the crown.<sup>2</sup> Muqarnases were employed in many ways; for the construction of a whole dome,<sup>3</sup> on the surfaces of pendentives,<sup>4</sup> for topping niches and mihrābs, for composing semi-domes, on the capitals of columns, for forming straight cornices, for filling squinches, and as a method of transition from a right-angled to another type of form. The main root of all the forms of the muqarnases is the squinch. There were two methods of forming the muqarnas. The first was the division which took place inside the squinch and the second was the multiplication of the single squinch. The former is regarded (wrongly) by some scholars as the only way of forming muqarnases<sup>5</sup> while the second method is very clear in the Syrian and Mesopotamian domes where the earliest examples of the type still exist as represented in the dome of Imām Dūr<sup>6</sup> and the two domes of

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1. EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "mukarnas", suppl. pp. 153-4.

2. Rosintal and Schroeder, op.cit., II, p. 1255.

3. Like the domes of al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī and al-Madrasa al-Nūriya.

4. Such as those of al-Madrasa al-‘Ādiliya.

5. Rosintal, "L'Origine", p.7; Fikrī, "Masājid", I, pp. 165-6 and K. Sāmih, "Al-‘Imāra al-Islāmiya fī Miṣr" (Cairo, n.d.) p. 178.

6. Imām Dūr in fact illustrates both methods of forming muqarnases.

Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus.

The earliest dated examples of the first method, the division inside the squinch, are almost contemporary with the others. The earliest yet known is that in the mausoleum of 'Arab-Atā at Tīm in Uzbekistān, dated 367/977-8.<sup>1</sup> In Persia it appeared first in Yazd, in the Duvāzda Imām which dates from 429/1037, and in the Masjid-ī Jāmi' at Iṣfahān,<sup>2</sup> where the division began in two courses of muqarnases (Fig. 410). According to Rosintal the courses were increased to three,<sup>3</sup> and then to four courses in the Masjid-ī Jāmi' at Gūlpāyagān<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 413).

In Mesopotamia, the first appearance of the division inside the squinch was in Imām Dūr, in the squinches of the octagonal zone<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 411). It consists of two courses. Al-Arba'īn, which has been disfigured by successive restorations, had, presumably, squinches of a similar type to those of Imām Dūr. There are no other examples in Mesopotamia which are as highly developed as these examples.

In Egypt, the development of this kind of muqarnas is very clear. Its first stage, that of two courses, occurs in the dome of al-Sayyida Ruqqiya<sup>6</sup> dating to 527/1133 (Fig.

1. G.A. Pugachenkova, "Istoriya Zochikh Uzbekistana" II (Tashkent, 1963) apud O. Grabar "The Visual Arts, 1050-1350" in "The Cambridge History of Iran", V, 1968, p. 638.

2. See supra, p. 330, and Rosintal "L'Origine", p. 7.

3. This stage of three courses does not exist but it is presumed by Rosintal ("L'Origine", p. 12).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

5. 'Abbū, op.cit., p. 213.

6. On this building see Creswell, "MAE", I, pp. 247-53; Fikrī, "Masājid", I, pp. 103-9.

412), which corresponds to those of the Masjid-i Jāmi' at Iṣfahān and Imām Dūr.

The second stage in the development of this kind of muqarnas in Egypt is found at Mashhad al-Shāfi'ī<sup>1</sup> in Cairo, dated 608/1211. The muqarnases, which are of wood, are arranged in this dome in three courses. From the sequence of examples showing the development of the muqarnas in Egypt, Creswell suggests that the evolution of the muqarnas was entirely a local creation<sup>2</sup> and was not influenced by the Persian, Mesopotamian, or Syrian ones. However this kind of muqarnas which is based on division inside the squinch had no influence on the evolution and construction of Syrian domes. All the muqarnases found in Syrian domes can be classified among the second group, which is formed by the multiplication of the squinch-shaped figure.

It is hard to give a firm decision about the origin of the muqarnas but one can suggest without hesitation that it is a creation of some country in which only small units of building material, like bricks, are readily available,<sup>3</sup> in other words, in Mesopotamia or Persia. It seems likely that the origin of the first type of muqarnas (division within the squinch) is to be sought in Persia or Central Asia, as shown above. Herzfeld restricts the area to which the second kind of muqarnas (multiplication of the single squinch) belongs, to the middle and lower Euphrates and Tigris down to Shaṭṭ al-

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1. On this building see Creswell, "MAE", II, pp. 64-76; Fikrī, "Masājīd", I, pp. 33-6.

2. Creswell, "MAE", I, p. 253.

3. P.R. Spiers, "Architecture East and West" (London, 1905), p. 47.

'Arab, Khūzistān and the adjacent parts of Fārs, and islands in the Gulf.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest example of a mugarnas vault known at present is Imām Dūr. Next come the two domes of Nūr al-Dīn at Damascus.<sup>2</sup>

Although the origin of the mugarnas dome cannot be demonstrated because of the lack of embryonic stages, it is permissible to suggest that it was derived from the squinches of the semi-domes in the prayer hall of Ukhaiḍir, which dates from the second half of the second/eighth century.<sup>3</sup> The transition zone of each of these two semi-domes consists of two stages. The lower one is composed of two squinches set up on the corners. Each of them is flanked by two small niches. Although the function of these small niches seems to be decorative, they help the squinches in forming a curve nearer to the semi-circle. The second stage is composed of engaged corbelled arches, projecting about 10cm. from their background. These small niches and corbelled arches might have been replaced by mugarnases as is shown in Fig. 414. However, the mugarnases of the Syrian domes of the Ayyūbid period had three main functions, to form the structure of the whole dome as in the domes of al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī and al-Madrasa al-Nūriya, to form semi-domes over

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 37. It is strange to find someone who tries to prove that the mugarnas domes were influenced by Jewish architectural traditions simply because of the existence of a small population of Jews in the area (see J.M. Unvala, "The origin of the Pine-Cone Decoration of the Imamzadehs of Khuzistan", Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, V (1928-30), pp. 587-90.
  2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 17.
  3. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 98.

the bays of entrances, or to form the transition zone as in many domes at Aleppo.<sup>1</sup>

The derivation of the Syrian muqarnas domes from that of Imām Dūr is very evident. Herzfeld believes that they have been entirely naturalized in their new land,<sup>2</sup> while in fact they show the development of the Mesopotamian model on Syrian soil over a period of about 60 years. Indeed, they prefigure the highly developed examples in Mesopotamia like that of the tomb of Sitt Zubaida<sup>3</sup> in Baghdad which dates from 595/1199 (Fig. 415 A & B).

The most distinctive use of the muqarnases in Syria is found in the semi-domes of the portals. It is very clear that this feature was created in Northern Syria in Aleppo, where its earlier examples still exist.<sup>4</sup> It appeared first

1. Such as the dome of Room "B" in the northern annexe of Mashhad al-Ḥusain, the central domes of the prayer halls of Mashhad al-Muḥassin, Mashhad al-Ḥusain, al-Firdūs, Khānqāh al-Farāfra, al-Madrassa al-Sharafiya and al-Madrassa al-Kāmiliya.
2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 18.
3. On this building see 'Abbū, op.cit., pp. 102-9; Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", pp. 25-6; Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., II, pp. 173-9. Other examples of Mesopotamian muqarnas domes are found in Dāqūq, dated from the end of the 6th/12th century ('Abbū, op.cit., pp. 119-122), Maqām Abū Idrīs at Ba'qūba, dated from 619/1222 ('Abbū, op.cit., pp. 128-32), Qubbat al-Najmī, near al-Nu'māniya, which is dated to the beginning of the 7th/13th century ('Abbū, op.cit., pp. 133-6; Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., I, pp. 238-9) Qubbat al-Bajlī, to the south of Mandalī, which is dated to the first half of the 7th/13th century ('Abbū, op.cit., pp. 137-42), Mashhad al-Shams at al-Ḥilla dated to the first half of the 7th/13th century ('Abbū, op.cit., pp. 143-6), and the tomb of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī near al-Baṣra, dated to the 7th/13th century ('Abbū, op.cit., pp. 174-7, and Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 26).
4. Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 147.



in Aleppo in the portal of al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya,<sup>1</sup> while the first mugarnas portal appeared in Damascus in the first half of the 7th/13th century.<sup>2</sup> From Damascus it found its way to Egypt where it appeared first in the first half of the 8th/14th century.<sup>3</sup> Creswell suggests that the idea of this kind of semi-dome was probably derived from a portal such as that of Bāb al-‘Āmma at Sāmarrā where a deep entrance bay is roofed by a semi-dome on a pair of squinches. On its importation at a later date into Syria the squinches would be replaced by the mugarnases.<sup>4</sup> All the mugarnas semi-domes of Syria are made of stone.<sup>5</sup> Numerous elements of each zone are sculptured out of one block, the size and the shape of which is determined by considerations of stability.

The Syrian mugarnas semi-domes employ exclusively a regular alternation of cells and brackets in each zone. That is the fundamental distinction. "This method increases the margin of the projection and by lowering the angle, reduces the number of zones and the height of the vault. This clearly was the intention and the reason for choosing that method. Moreover, the brackets, when not projecting over

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1. See supra, p. 225 .

2. Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 147.

3. Ibid., loc.cit.

4. Ibid., loc.cit.

5. Cf. al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya, Mashhad al-Muḥassin, Mashhad al-Ḥusain, al-Firdūs, Khānqāh al-Farāfra, al-Madrasa al-Sharafiya, al-Madrasa al-Kāmiliya and Jāmi‘ al-Tawba.



the cells, are the lower part of the cells of the zone above which do not retreat to the full depth of the lower zone. Thus, by regular insertion of brackets, the cells no longer grow out of the lower into the upper zone but are confined to one zone. A clean horizontal separation of the zones is produced throughout."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 17.

## Section 7.

## Types of Ayyūbid Domes

The classification of domes according to their types cannot be based on the outside appearance of the shells. This classification is based on the architectural forms of the domes, including the plan, the material used, and the nature of the transition zone. As for the shells, there are generally two kinds, smooth shells and ribbed shells. There is no difference between the two kinds in the construction of the transition zone. The difference starts with the springing line of the dome. The smooth dome or the smooth shell has a circular base resting on the hexadecagonal, dodecagonal, or even octagonal drum and the transition to the regular circular form is carried out by means of corbels<sup>1</sup> or small pendentives.<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of the exact measurements made by the S.D.A. of five of the Ayyūbid domes of Damascus one can conclude that the shell of any Ayyūbid dome is the same thickness at both springing and apex. The reason is probably because the Ayyūbid domes of Damascus are constructed of baked brick: brick is lighter than stone, and preparing bricks of different widths for each course would not be worth the high cost. The other noticeable feature of the Ayyūbid domes of Damascus is that the section of each is a

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1. Cf. al-Turba al-‘Alā’iya, al-Turba al-Faranthiya, al-Turba al-Qaimariya, Turbat al-Daḥdāḥ, al-Madrassa al-Māridāniya, al-Madrassa al-‘Izziya and Jāmi‘ al-Tawba.

2. Cf. al-Turba al-Ḥāfiẓiyya, al-Madrassa al-Qilījiyya and room "B" in the northern annexe of Mashhad al-Ḥusain.

pointed arch of two centres struck very slightly above the springing line.

The surviving Ayyūbid domes of Syria have single shells, although this was the area where the earliest wooden double-shelled domes first appeared.<sup>1</sup>

The other kind of profile found in Ayyūbid domes is the ribbed one, which is found in ten domes in Damascus<sup>2</sup> and in two others in Ḥamā.<sup>3</sup>

There were many kinds of ribbed domes throughout the Islamic world. The simplest form of the ribbed dome consisted of four intersecting arches set parallel to the four sides of the square base. This type is found in Iṣfahān in the Masjid-i Jāmi',<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 416). It was believed that the ribs of one of the smaller domes of the Masjid-i Jāmi' of Iṣfahān were decorative ones, but, as some of the filling has fallen from between the ribs, their structure is revealed. The ribs are each four or five bricks deep per course.<sup>5</sup>

The domes of the Great Mosque of Cordova show almost the same phase of development as that of Iṣfahān. They date from 354/965. The ribs are constructed of cut stone and according to some scholars they present a development from the simple Mesopotamian examples.<sup>6</sup> Each of the square

1. K.A.C. Creswell, "The Origin of the Persian Double Dome", Burlington Magazine, XXIV (1913-4) p. 156; Herzfeld, "Damascus.III", p. 67.
2. I.e. al-Turba al-Najmiya, Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam, al-Turba al-Khātūniya, al-Turba al-Salāmiya, Turbat al-Badrī, al-Turba al-'Ālima, Turbat Ṭurkhān, al-Madrassa al-Jahārkasiya and al-Madrassa al-Rukniya.
3. Jāmi' al-Ḥasanīn and Jāmi' al-Nūrī.
4. E.Schroeder, "Islamic Architecture. The Seljūq period" in "Survey", II, p. 1032.
5. Pope, "Persian Architecture", p. 256.
6. Gomez Moreno, "Al-Fann al-Islāmī fī Ispānia", translated (Contd.

bases of the four domes of this mosque is spanned by intersecting ribs arranged in different ways, but all have distinctive features in common. The ribs are basically arches set up in parallel pairs (Fig. 417).

Another form of ribbed dome occurs in North Mesopotamia, in the monastery of Mār Bahnām<sup>1</sup> near Mosul, dated 569/1163, in Jāmi' al-Nūrī at Mosul<sup>2</sup> dated 568/1172, Qubbat Wīlāda in Sinjār<sup>3</sup> dated 594/1198 and in Maqām Sitt Zainab<sup>4</sup> in Sinjār dated 646/1248. This type of ribbed dome is found in Anatolia in the Mosque of Sultān Sulaymān in Hışn Kayfā which dates from 752/1351.<sup>5</sup>

This Mesopotamian type of ribbed dome differs considerably from other kinds. The skeleton of these domes is formed by rather fine ribs made of gypsum. The ribs are half arches meeting others near the summit to form a starlike central area which is filled, as are the other spaces between the ribs, by a thin layer of gypsum<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 418). This starlike figure could be an eight-pointed, sixteen-pointed or

Contd.) from Spanish into Arabic by L. al-Badī' and A. al-Sālim (Cairo, 1968), p. 141. He states that there are early examples of this work in Mesopotamia in a small Nestorian church near Kirkūk and in the Monastery of Zafrān in Mandīn (op.cit., p. 140).

1. On the monastery of Mār Bahnām see 'Abbū, op.cit., pp.72-80.
2. Ibid., pp. 87-91.
3. Ibid., pp. 110-14.
4. Ibid., pp. 168-173.
5. A. Gabriel, "Voyages Archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale" (Paris, 1940), pp. 66-7, Fig. 52 and II, Pl. XLIV.
6. Most probably this kind of dome was built originally with a double shell because gypsum shells are usually too delicate to withstand a severe climate. One of these domes, that of Jāmi' al-Nūrī, at Mosul, kept its two shells until 1939 when it was demolished and a new single-shell dome was built instead of it.

twenty-four-pointed star. The number of points depends on the form of the dentated base of the dome.

Another type of ribbed dome is found in Syria, Egypt and some parts of North Africa. The dome of this type consists of concave surfaces springing from a dentated base. The ribs of these domes are arranged radially. This design is found in many Ayyūbid domes in Damascus and in some domes in Northern Syria. Ribbed domes, in general, are apparently based on designs originally meant for construction in wood<sup>1</sup> and according to Herzfeld the ribbed domes of Damascus derive from an indigenous wooden structure.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the origin of this kind of dome was, the idea of these ribs was to divide the wide space into small panels and to produce the edges which formed the framework of the dome.

Domes composed of ribs joined by curved segments were known to the Romans<sup>3</sup> and occur in Islamic architecture in the 1st and 2nd/7th and 8th centuries, in Ukhaidir and in the bath of Quṣair 'Amra. The ribs of these domes were visible from the inside only and their exteriors were not fluted. The dome in front of the mihṛāb in the Mosque of al-Qairawān represents the earliest ribbed dome with a fluted exterior. It was built in 221/836.<sup>4</sup> It is well known that the mosque of al-Qairawān shows strong

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1. E. Diez, "Islamic Architecture B. The Principles and Types" in "Survey", II, p. 925.
  2. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 67.
  3. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 319.
  4. Ibid., II, p. 308.

Mesopotamian influences such as the glazed tiles of the mihṛāb<sup>1</sup> and the transition zone of the dome.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the ribbed dome could be another imported feature, particularly if we recall that the whole dome of the mosque of al-Qairawān is called "the imported dome" by a Tunisian scholar.<sup>3</sup>

Clear influences of the dome of Jāmi' al-Qairawān are found in some Fāṭimid domes such as Mashhad al-Sayyida Ruqqiya and Qubbat Yaḥyā al-Shabīh. Therefore the idea of the ribbed dome probably found its way to Egypt with the Fāṭimids who came from the west.<sup>4</sup> However, the origin of the ribbed dome seems to be in Syria, which influenced Mesopotamia during the early Abbasid period. From the east it spread westwards in North Africa through Jāmi' al-Qairawān.

As for Aleppo and Northern Syria, where stone is commonly used, the domes are sometimes wholly built of this material. Presumably the stone dome is thinner at the top than at the springing line and the lower parts of the curve. There are no ribbed domes among the stone ones but some of them were incised in such a way as to resemble the brickwork ribbed domes such as that of al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya. The other brickwork domes of Northern Syria do not differ greatly from those of Damascus, but they are not ribbed, except those of Ḥamā.

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1. Creswell, "EMA", II, p. 314.

2. Marçais, "Manuel", I, p. 34.

3. S.M. Zbayis, "Al-Qubba al-Tūnisiya" Sumer, XV (1959), p.9.

4. Fikrī, "Masājid", I, p. 166.



To classify the Ayyūbid domes of Syria into their architectural types, one must consider together many features of the domed building. The domes cannot be classified according to the shells only. The shape of the shells, whether ribbed or smooth, has no relation to the shape of the transition zone and is no guide to the construction of the other parts of the building. The transition zone, however, can justifiably be used to classify the Ayyūbid domes of Syria into their types along with other architectural features such as the plan, the materials and the nature of the shell. Therefore, the Ayyūbid domes of Syria may be classified, according to the above-mentioned features, as follows:

A. Damascus domes of two superposed drums<sup>1</sup>.

This type was employed in Damascus only; thus it could be termed "the Damascus type". It is found in 23 domes. The shells which crown the transition zones of this type are either ribbed or smooth.

B. The mugarnas domes.<sup>2</sup>

This type is found in two domes which make extensive use of the mugarnas, al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī and al-Madrasa al-Nūriya, and two domes which use the mugarnas to a lesser extent, Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam in Damascus and al-Madrasa al-Sharafiya at Aleppo.

As is mentioned above, the origin of this type was

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1. See supra, pp. 301 .

2. See supra, pp. 332 .



Mesopotamia where earlier examples of it still exist. This type had an effect on the semi-domes of the portals rather than in domes.

C. The Aleppo domes with pyramidal pendentives.<sup>1</sup>

This type is found in Aleppo and Northern Syria only. Accordingly, it can be termed the "Aleppo type". This type, with its unique form of pendentives, is of Syrian, and more precisely, North Syrian origin. It is found in all those domes of Aleppo which have no drum but which rest on the octagonal or dodecagonal base formed by the pendentives.

D. Composite type combining the types of Damascus and Aleppo.

This type appeared first in the Nūrīd period in Jāmi' al-Ḥasanīn, Jāmi' al-Nūrī at Ḥamā and Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal at Aleppo. The transition zone of this type shows a combination of the pendentives of Aleppo and the employment of the Damascus-type dome. This type appeared in Damascus rather late. The three examples of it in Damascus<sup>2</sup> date to the end of the Ayyūbid period. The examples of Damascus show some variation from those of the north. The pendentives are a cross between pyramidal and spherical ones, while those of the north are all pyramidal.

E. Aleppo type of two superposed zones

This type is represented in four examples in Aleppo and

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1. See *supra*, pp. 318 .

2. Al-Turba al-ʿĀlima, al-Turba al-Qaimariya and al-Madrassa al-Qilījiya.

Northern Syria.<sup>1</sup> It reflects the same idea as the domes of the two superposed drums of Damascus. Each of these examples consists of either an octagonal or a twelve-sided zone formed by pendentives and it is transformed into a sixteen-sided zone by means of lozenge-shaped corbels. The whole structure is carried out in cut stone. In addition to these types, there are various examples elsewhere showing either a cross between some of the above-mentioned types, or an execution of one of these types in different materials, e.g. Qubbat al-Amjād in Ba'albak, which has two superposed zones, octagonal and sixteen-sided, but a second zone which is very low and without windows.

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1. See the turba in al-Madrassa al-Shādhbākhtiya, the dome of the mihrāb in al-Madrassa al-Zāhiriya and the two domes of Maqām al-Nabī Yūsha'.

## Section 8.

Architectural and Decorative Features of  
Ayyūbid Domed Buildings in Syria.A. Materials.

Geographically, Syria is the land of various kinds of materials. Syrian limestone was the best of its kind, resisting weathering and acquiring a beautiful amber tint on exposure.<sup>1</sup> Lebanon and the west coast of Syria were the sources of cedarwood. Mud brick was employed in both the southern and northern villages.

Stone has been the principal material of Syrian architecture throughout all its historical periods. It was used in the Ayyūbid domed buildings of Damascus in two forms, either well dressed and arranged in uniform courses on the exterior, or roughly shaped in the interiors. The cut stone of the exterior, in turn, is made in two different styles. The exposed face of each piece is either cut smooth or it is left rough in the middle and surrounded with a smooth edge. The latter technique is known by the architects of Mosul as "qubbadār". It was used in ancient Syrian buildings<sup>2</sup> and it was also known in Assyrian architecture, for example in the walls of Nineveh, which were built in the 7th century B.C.

The buildings were strengthened by their walls which were of considerable thickness. Plaster was used as mortar in most Ayyūbid buildings. Some buildings, like that of Qubbat

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1. Creswell, "A Short Account", p. 7, and Shāfi'ī, op.cit., p. 290.

2. Butler, "Architecture", p. 24.

al-Amjād, were constructed without mortar in drystone masonry. Baked brick is also found regularly, but its use was limited. It was employed in all the shells of the Ayyūbid domes of Damascus, in most of the transition zones of the domes in Damascus, and in some shells in Aleppo and Northern Syria. In addition to these, it was employed in the construction of some arches, even though these arches were in the middle of stonework walls, such as those of al-Turba al-Najmiya.

From an examination of the position of brick in the building it can be concluded that there were two reasons for choosing this material. Firstly, its light weight made it suitable for the high parts of buildings, particularly those which needed centering in their construction, like the dome and the arch. Secondly, its small size made it suitable for forming curves, a necessary feature in constructing domes and arches.

There was no standard size for the brick employed in Ayyūbid domed buildings. It was of varying measurements. Some of those which could be measured are square in shape, varying from 21 x 21cm. to 24 x 24cm.; their thickness ranges from 4.5cm. to 7 cm. Others are oblong, measuring 24 x 12 cm. and 26 x 15cm. with different thicknesses. In addition to these, bricks of particular forms were specially prepared for some domes. This kind of brick is found in the central dome of the western court of al-Madrasa al-Zāhiriya. They are of trapezoid form measuring 26-31 x 41 x 5cm. It is, in fact, very unusual to find such a form of brick in Islamic architecture. Similar forms of bricks

are found in some Assyrian buildings. They were used in Nineveh, in the construction of wells and some vaults.<sup>1</sup>

The interiors of all the Ayyūbid domed buildings of Damascus were plastered, as is the interior of some buildings of Northern Syria. The exteriors of the Ayyūbid buildings of Syria are almost always left without plastering. The material of the plastering in some Ayyūbid buildings is rather strange. It is formed of a mixture of gypsum and shredded flax. This material is still in use nowadays in Aleppo.

## B. Architectural Decoration

### 1. Construction of the Openings

The lower openings of Ayyūbid domed buildings, whether they are doors or windows, are constructed according to a distinct design. The only indication to distinguish a window from a door is the iron grille or the holes on its sides. These openings in most of the early Ayyūbid domed buildings are topped by lintels. A few lines of inscription are engraved on the façade of some of these lintels. Each of these texts is written within an oblong panel decorated

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1. I worked as a member of the archaeological expedition of the University of Mosul at Nineveh during 1968-69. The expedition unearthed one of the Gates of Nineveh, "The Gate of Adad" with a large guard court. This court was roofed by a vault constructed with trapezoid bricks measuring 26 x 34 x 40 x 7cm. A large number of these bricks were found in the débris which filled the court.

at either end by a variation of the tabula ansata design. To reduce the weight from the middle of the lintels, the architect relieved them by setting up arches above them. Each of these arches is either a segment of an arch in full curve or a small pointed arch formed by two voussoirs (Fig. 19). This design was followed in Aleppo during all the Ayyūbid period, but the arch is more pointed, i.e. the space between the top of the lintel and the arch is wider than at Damascus.

A development of this simple design occurred in the last decades of the Ayyūbid period. The arch was formed by three or more joggled voussoirs and the fine joints of these voussoirs produce ornamental designs (Fig. 419 and Figs. 84, 126 and 250). This arch could be a flat or segmental one. In most cases this arch is topped by another flat arch. The lintel was used in ancient architecture and it was one of the distinctive features of Greek and Hellenistic architecture. It played an important rôle in Islamic architecture in Syria. Joggled voussoirs were known in the pre-Islamic period.<sup>1</sup>

From the Ayyūbid period onwards, joggled voussoirs were employed for decorative purposes, in addition to their architectural value in forming the lintel from many small pieces of stone instead of a big heavy one.<sup>2</sup>

The idea reached its highest development in the Mamlūk period in Egypt and Syria (Fig. 420). Joggled voussoirs

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1. Fikrī, "Masājid, al-Madkhal", p. 35.

2. On the construction of such openings see J. Crace, "On the Ornamental Features of Arabic Architecture in Egypt and Syria", Sessional papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects, XX (1871), pp. 71-90.

were employed in Damascus not only in arches and lintels, but sometimes in forming a whole course in the wall with alternating colours (Fig. 421).

The other method of constructing openings in the Ayyūbid period was by arches. This was used notably in the buildings of Nūr al-Dīn and some other early Ayyūbid buildings. The entrances of al-Turba al-‘Alā’iya, al-Turba al-Nūriya, some doorways in al-Māristān al-Nūrī, a doorway in al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya and the entrance to Turbāt al-Daḥdāḥ are all topped by pointed horse-shoe arches.

## 2. Profiles of Arches

Generally, there were two types of arches dominating the world in the pre-Islamic period: semi-circular and elliptical. Arches of semi-circular form were commonly employed in Syria, especially in the northern parts. Horse-shoe arches are occasionally found, and stilted arches are common.<sup>1</sup>

Elliptical arches were employed in Mesopotamia and Persia, and it is impossible now to decide the origin of either of these two types or even which was the older. In addition to these two fundamental types, there was the flat arch which is usually formed of joggled voussoirs. This type of arch appeared first in Roman and Byzantine architecture,<sup>2</sup> and its first appearance in Islam was in Qaṣr al-Ḥair,

1. Butler, "Architecture", p. 25.

2. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 343 and Shāfi‘ī, op.cit., p. 201.



which dates from 110/730.<sup>1</sup> Its employment in the Ayyūbid period was restricted to crowning some openings and it usually consisted of three voussoirs.<sup>2</sup> However, there is no doubt that the arch with its many variants reached its highest development in the Islamic period.

The horse-shoe arch is a development of the semi-circular arch and is found for the first time in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus.<sup>3</sup> It became one of the most distinctive features of Muslim architecture in Spain and North Africa. Early examples of this type were found in Qaṣr Ibn Wardān,<sup>4</sup> dating from the sixth century A.D., and in many other places.<sup>5</sup> The employment of this arch was also limited in the Ayyūbid period. It was used in few cases, and was restricted to crowning some openings in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn and the early Ayyūbid period.<sup>6</sup> All of these openings were entrances. The reason for using horse-shoe arches in these cases was probably to distinguish the doorways from other openings.

The pointed arch with its multiple forms occurs often. Basically, pointed arches are arches in which the two halves are each struck from a different centre. The less the separation of these two centres, the less the acuteness of

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1. On Qaṣr al-Ḥair see Creswell, "EMA", I, pp. 330-49.

2. Cf. al-Madrassa al-Qilījiya (Fig. 250) and al-Madrassa al-Ṣāḥiba (Fig. 419).

3. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 18, Fig. 67 and Pls. 34d and 35a.

4. On Qaṣr Ibn Wardān see Butler, "Early Churches in Syria" pp. 168-9; H.C. Butler, "Ancient Architecture in Syria, Sect. B. Northern Syria" (Leiden, 1908), pp. 26-45.

5. On the origin of the round horse-shoe arch see Creswell, "EMA", I, pp. 137-9; Dieulafoy, op.cit., IV, pp. 131-2; Bell and Ramsay, op.cit., pp. 316-7; and Rivoira, "Moslem Architecture", pp. 110-19.

6. See supra, pp. 25, 37, and 225.

the arch, all trace of a point vanishing where these two centres coincide.<sup>1</sup>

The most common form of arch in Ayyūbid architecture is the two-centred pointed form which is even used for horse-shoe arches. The origin of this two-centred pointed arch is a much debated question. Some scholars attribute the first employment of the pointed arch to Mesopotamia in the eighth century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> though, in fact, the Mesopotamian arches of the eighth century were elliptical arches and not pointed. The first real pointed arch, however, occurred in Northern Syria in Qaṣr Ibn Wardān which dates from between 561-564 A.D. This two-centred pointed arch is the most common type of arch in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk architecture (Fig. 422).

Two of the most common arch profiles of Islamic architecture, the four-centred profile (as in Bāb Baghdād, Raqqa, Fig. 423) and the keel-shaped profile (first found in the mihrāb of the mausoleum known as Ikhwat Yūsuf, Cairo, Fig. 424) are noticeably absent in Ayyūbid architecture.

Lobed arches in their various forms played a very important part in Muslim architecture in Spain and North Africa. Like the pointed arch, this form first appeared in the east and then made its way to the west. The earliest example of lobed arches occurs in Sāmarrā in the Great Mosque, in the windows of its south side.<sup>3</sup> An example of this form

1. Creswell, "EMA", I, p. 272.

2. B. Fletcher, "A History of Architecture" (London, 1961), p.298.

3. Creswell, "EMA", II, Fig. 203.

occurred in Sasanian architecture in Ctesiphon in the ruin known as Tāq-i Kisrā. That arch, which was the outer end of the great vault, has since fallen.<sup>1</sup> The other example of this occurs in al-Ukhaidir in the arches of the northern entrances to the mosque. Both the above-mentioned examples are not truly lobed arches, but the outer faces were carved so as to form a kind of foil and cusp ornament. Although this arch was not employed in Ayyūbid architecture as a structural element, the form occurs as a type of façade decoration.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Cornices and Mouldings

Several forms of cornices and mouldings were used in Syria from the second century A.D. onwards. The Ayyūbid forms of cornices do not greatly differ from the pre-Islamic ones.

Figure 425 shows the most common types of cornices used in the ancient architecture of Syria. The cyma recta (Fig. 425a) seems to have been employed in many buildings throughout pre-Islamic architecture.<sup>3</sup> Almost the same form as the ancient cyma recta cornice was used in some Ayyūbid buildings in Syria (Fig. 426a) such as al-Madrassa al-Murshidiya and al-Madrassa al-Māridāniya. The bevelled cornice was used in some other buildings of the Ayyūbid period such as al-Turba al-Farānthiya, al-Turba al-Najmiya and al-Turba al-Salāmiya

1. Dieulafoy, op.cit., V, pl. III.

2. E.g. the entrance of al-Turba al-Ḥāfiẓiya.

3. Butler, "Architecture", p. 40.

(Fig. 426b). This bevelled cornice, which Butler calls "a moulding of splay face" is derived from Syrian architecture, where it is found as early as the fourth century A.D. (Fig. 425b).<sup>1</sup> This form was a development of the very shallow cavetto cornice (Figs. 425c, 426c). This cornice was commonly employed in Ayyūbid buildings, particularly for the interior mouldings of the transition zone, which are usually executed in plaster. The cavetto moulding is also used to adorn the exterior of many Ayyūbid buildings. Many other variations of the cornice are found in Ayyūbid buildings, such as the cyma recta moulding which is used in some of the monuments of Aleppo, (e.g. al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya, room "A" in the annexe of Mashhad al-Husain, the dome of the mihrāb in al-Madrasa al-Zāhiriya and the central dome of the prayer hall in Mashhad al-Muḥassin). The section of the cyma recta moulding usually shows two connecting curves, a convex curve at the top and a concave one below, but the above-mentioned examples each have a right-angled projection separating the two curves (Fig. 426d). The cyma reversa cornice has a section of two connecting curves, the top one concave and the lower one convex; it is found in some Ayyūbid buildings such as Qubbat al-Amjād (Fig. 426e). Some domes such as that of Turbat Ibn al-Muqaddam have two superposed cyma recta cornices separated by a right-angled projection (Fig. 426f). In addition to these cornices there were some simple cornices, e.g. a right-

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1. Butler, "Architecture", p. 38.

angled projection such as that of Turbat Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī (Fig. 426g) or a single outward swelling curve (Fig. 426h).

#### 4. Coupled windows

The sequence of the development of this feature is very clear. Creswell classifies the different examples of the world into five types.<sup>1</sup> Examples of his type "I" are coupled round-headed windows. They are found as early as the ninth century at Ravenna in the campanile of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo which dates from 850-878 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> at Milan in the campanile of San Satiro which dates from 876,<sup>3</sup> and at Ivrea in the campanile of Santo Stefano which dates from 1029-42.<sup>4</sup>

The second type is represented in many examples distributed throughout Europe. Each of these examples consists of a pair of round-headed windows set in a round-arched frame. They are common in late Byzantine architecture (e.g. at St. Nicodemus, Athens, dated about 1044 A.D.<sup>5</sup>).

In the third type the windows are topped by pointed arches and the framing arch remains semi-circular. An example of this type is found at Senlis in the triforium arcade of the Cathedral choir which dates from about 1150-1165.<sup>6</sup>

1. Creswell, "MAE", II, pp. 199-201.

2. Rivoira, "Lombardic Architecture", I, p. 70.

3. Ibid., I, Fig. 246.

4. Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 199 and Rivoira, "Lombardic Architecture" I, Fig. 270.

5. Rivoira, "Lombardic Architecture", I, Fig. 294.

6. T.G. Jackson, "Gothic Architecture in France, England and Italy" (Cambridge 1915), I, p. 67 and Pl. II.

The fourth type has the three arches pointed. It occurs in such cathedrals as Sens, which dates from 1148-68,<sup>1</sup> Noyon which dates from 1150-90,<sup>2</sup> and Laon which dates from 1160-1205.<sup>3</sup>

In the fifth stage, a bull's eye pierces the tympanum; this type appears first at Paris, in the second storey of the western towers of Notre Dame.<sup>4</sup> This type was developed in the middle of the thirteenth century and was transformed into geometrical tracery.<sup>5</sup>

According to Creswell there is only one example each of Types I, II, IV and V in Syria. Type I is found in the minaret of Maqām al-Khalīl at Urfa. It bears an inscription dated 608/1211-12.<sup>6</sup> Type II is found in the northern minaret of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus, built between 570-580/1174-1184.<sup>7</sup> Type IV is found in the south-eastern minaret of the same mosque; this is known as the minaret of 'Īsā. It dates from 647/1249 or 740/1340.<sup>8</sup> Type V is found in the chapel of the castle of Crac des Chevoliers (Qal'at al-Ḥiṣn) which must have been built long before 1271 A.D.<sup>9</sup>

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1. Jackson, *op.cit.*, I, p. 69 and Pl. I.

2. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 72-3 and Pl. VIII.

3. *Ibid.*, I, p. 69.

4. Creswell, "*MAE*", II, p. 199.

5. *Ibid.*, II, p. 200.

6. "*Rep.*" No. 3692.

7. Creswell, "*EMA*", I, p. 120.

8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 121.

9. Creswell, "*MAE*", II, p. 200.



It seems that the doubled windows which are commonly used in the octagonal drums of many Ayyūbid domes in Damascus are not considered by Creswell as coupled windows, for he does not mention them. However, each of these windows shows, in general, the same features as the above-mentioned types. They are windows with two openings separated from each other by a very thin post. All of their arches are pointed. The tympanum is sometimes decorated with a disk instead of a bull's eye, as in Turbat al-Badrī, and al-Turba al-Faranthiya. Therefore another, purely Ayyūbid, type can be added to the above-mentioned types; it appears only on domed buildings.

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#### 5. Shell-shaped Semi-domes

The shell-shaped semi-dome which is sometimes wrongly called "conch" - it is in fact shaped like a scallop shell - is a form of Hellenistic origin.<sup>1</sup> It is found in many pre-Islamic buildings in Syria such as a temple at 'Atīl on Jabal Ḥawrān, dated 151 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> in a basilica at Shaqqa,<sup>3</sup> which dates from the last quarter of the second century A.D.<sup>4</sup> and in Kalybē at al-Ḥayyāt, a small town in the northern part of Jabal Ḥawrān, which dates from the end of the third century.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Herzfeld, "Damascus. I", p. 24.

2. Butler, "Architecture", p. 345.

3. De Vogüé, "Syrie", Pls. 15 and 16.

4. Butler, "Architecture", p. 365.

5. Ibid., p. 397.



However, shell-shaped semi-domes were employed in Islamic architecture for crowning mihrābs and other niches. They were used in Ukhaiḍir in a niche in the east side of the ṣaḥn and for adorning the head of the mihrāb of Jāmi' al-Khaṣṣakī which dates from the middle of the second/8th century.<sup>1</sup> This feature was commonly employed in Ayyūbid architecture in embellishing the exteriors of the transition zones of domes and sometimes their interiors as well. It occurs on most of those domes of Damascus with two superposed zones. The profile of these shell-shaped semi-domes still shows a strong connection with those of pre-Islamic architecture. It is simply a group of ribs moulded or engraved on the whole surface of the semi-dome which crowns the niche. These ribs radiate either from the centre of the springing line or from the crown of the semi-dome. In other Islamic territories this motif developed into various forms. Some examples in Raqqa,<sup>2</sup> al-Arba'īn and Imām Dūr consist of three deep concave surfaces radiating from the centre of the springing line of the semi-dome so that the front of the semi-dome appears as a lobed arch of three scallops (Fig. 427). Another kind of semi-dome, in Cairo, is formed of deep concave surfaces alternating with sharp furrows, and the form of the front of the semi-dome reflects this arrangement; it is a lobed arch consisting of round curves and sharp angles arranged alternately (Fig. 428).

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1. On this mihrāb see Sarre and Herzfeld, op.cit., II, pp. 139-145 and Creswell, "EMA", II, pp. 35-6.

2. On this building see Creswell, "MAE", II, pp. 39-49.

This is found in Mashhad Umm Kulthūm in Cairo which dates from 520-550/1126-1155.<sup>1</sup> In yet another form, which was developed in the Fāṭimid and Ṣanhājīd architecture of North Africa, the semi-dome was formed of ribs combined with almond-shaped concave surfaces. These ribs ramify from the centre of the springing line of the semi-dome and are terminated by interlacing curves (Fig. 429) or by a series of arch-shaped figures (Fig. 430).

### C. Applied Decoration

#### a. Stone.

The most original feature of the carved stone decoration of Ayyūbid architecture is the motif of interlaced angular strapwork.<sup>2</sup> The spandrels of some entrances, mihrābs or īwāns of Syrian architecture, particularly in Aleppo and Northern Syria, are embellished with interlaced designs. Typical examples of these designs are found in the mihrābs of al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya, al-Madrasa al-Sulṭāniya, al-Firdūs, in the Ayyūbid work on the entrances of the Great Mosque of Aleppo and on the façade of the īwān in Mashhad

1. On this building see Creswell, "MAE", I, pp. 239-41.

2. It is difficult to find a concise term for this form of ornament and it has been termed differently by some art historians (see Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 170; Richmond, "Moslem Architecture", p. 122; H. Saladin, "Manuel d'Art Musulman" I, "L'Architecture", (Paris, 1907), p. 449; Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 16). However, I think it is better to call it "interlaced angular strapwork".

al-Husain. In Damascus these designs were employed in their most highly developed forms in many of the Mamlūk buildings. In Anatolia they occur in Konya, in the Mosque of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn, finished in 617/1221,<sup>1</sup> and in the Qaraṭāi Madrasa which dates from 649/1251.<sup>2</sup> These designs are executed in stone, mostly basalt and limestone, which give the colours black and yellow. They are very often found together with another form of interlacing strapwork design: the interlaced arch. The outer faces of the arches of miḥrābs or entrances are often framed by, or adorned with, a chain of such interlacing arches, just like the strapwork of the spandrels. Sometimes these arches are made of two different alternating colours; they are also simply incised. This last feature, i.e. the interlacing arches, is sometimes found alone having no connection with the design of the spandrels. Examples of this are found in Turbat Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī, al-Madrasa al-Zāhiriya in Damascus, al-Turba al-Takrītiya, Jāmi' al-Sanjaqdār and al-Madrasa al-Ṣābūniya.<sup>3</sup>

Everything suggests that this feature is of Syrian origin.<sup>4</sup> Creswell narrowed down the origin to North Syria.<sup>5</sup> The earliest examples of this ornament occur in Aleppo in

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1. Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 171.

2. Ibid., loc.cit.

3. All of these buildings belong to the Mamlūk period except Turbat Maḥmūd Ibn Zangī, which is Ayyūbid.

4. Herzfeld, "Damascus. III" p. 16; Saladin, op.cit., I, p. 449.

5. "MAE", II, pp. 170-1.

Mashhad al-Ḥusain which is dated 569/1174 and al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya which is dated 589/1193. It appears thereafter in Anatolia, in the Mosque of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn at Konya, and at Jerusalem in the mihrāb of Qubbat al-Silsila which was rebuilt by Baybars I.<sup>1</sup>

The concave surfaces of some mihrābs in Aleppo were decorated with slabs of stone forming slender vertical panels of different colours.<sup>2</sup> Some of these slabs have fallen away,<sup>3</sup> which has revealed that they are about 4cm. thick. The colours used in this type of decoration are usually white, black, yellow and dark red.

The other type of stone decoration, besides strapwork, which appeared first in the Ayyūbid period was "striped masonry". It results from using different materials or different kinds of stone showing two or more alternating colours, black, white, red, pink and yellow. It occurred first in the façade of al-Turba al-Khātūniya in Damascus which dates from 577/1181,<sup>4</sup> and was commonly employed in Mamlūk and Ottoman architecture in Syria, Palestine and Egypt.

Alternation of colours resulting from the employment of different materials is found in pre-Islamic architecture in Syria, e.g. in Qaṣr Ibn Wardān dated 561-564 A.D. where

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1. "MAE", II, p. 171.

2. This type of decoration is found in the mihrābs of al-Madrasa al-Shādhbākhtiya, al-Madrasa al-Sulṭāniya, al-Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriya, Khānqāh al-Farāfra, al-Firdūs and al-Madrasa al-Kāmiliya.

3. E.g. those of the mihrābs of al-Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriya and al-Madrasa al-Kāmiliya.

4. Supra, p. 47 .

red brick and white limestone are used in alternating courses. The same technique was used in the Great Mosque of Cordova in the part built by "Abd al-Rahmān I, in 164/780.

#### b. Stucco

Plastering of the interior sides is almost a general feature of Ayyūbid domed buildings in Damascus and it also occurs in some Ayyūbid buildings in Aleppo. Therefore stucco decoration may be expected in these buildings.

The quality and quantity of this stucco decoration differs according to the wealth of the founder of the building. Buildings which are founded by governors or their relatives are mostly richly decorated - e.g. al-Madrassa al-Shāmiya, which was founded by Sitt al-Shām, the sister of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; al-Turba al-Najmiya; al-Turba al-Ṣalāḥiyya; and al-Madrassa al-Farrūkhshāhiya.

The simplest and most common feature in stucco decoration in Ayyūbid domed buildings is that of bands framing architectural features. They border the arches of the recesses, the sides of the transition zones, windows, miḥrābs and sometimes the corners and the tops of the square base. Some of these borders are formed of two superimposed bands. The corners of the square base and sometimes the corners of the octagonal and the sixteen-sided zones are adorned with scrolls, particularly Damascus. Some of these

1. On this mosque see Gomez Moreno, op.cit., pp. 23-48.

scrolls are executed in naturalistic form, such as those of Turbat Ibn Timīrak (Fig. 139). Others are executed in a very formal design representing three carved lines, the middle being the larger, such as those of al-Madrasa al-Farrūkhshāhiya (Fig. 163).

Inscriptions are executed in stucco in some buildings, e.g. the turba in al-Madrasa al-Nūriya and that in al-Bīmāristān al-Qaimarī.

The niches of the sixteen-sided drum in some domes such as al-Turba al-Faranthiya and al-Turba al-Ṣalāhiya are topped with shell-shaped semi-domes carved in stucco just like those on the exterior.

The top of the square bases in two of the turbas of Damascus, al-Turba al-Najmiya and Turbat Raiḥān, are adorned with a very peculiar design. It is formed of a band consisting of small arches in the form of muqarnases. This band is wider and more elaborate in al-Turba al-Najmiya than in Turbat Turkhān (Figs. 35, 39 and 134).

Another design, which is used in three Ayyūbid turbas - Sitt al-Shām, al-Khātūniya and al-ʿĀlima - consists of a continuous series of lobes used as a frame for a curved surface.<sup>1</sup> This design occurred in the turba of Ṣafwat al-Mulk which was dated 504/1110,<sup>2</sup> but there the lobes were of brick.<sup>3</sup>

Different designs occur in small disks on the interior

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1. At al-Turba al-Khātūniya the motif is used in inverted form around an arched window.

2. On this turba see Sauvaget "MAD", pp. 1-25.

3. Ibid., Fig. 4 and Pl. VIII, 1.



sides of some Ayyūbid buildings such as the sun disk in al-Turba al-Faranthiya (Figs. 85 and 92), or disks with floral or geometrical designs, e.g. those of al-Madrasa al-Farrūkhshāhiya<sup>1</sup> and al-Turba al-Khātūniya (Figs. 48, and 163 B and C).

Two large medallions, which are identical, still survive from the Ayyūbid period, that of al-Madrasa al-'Izziya<sup>2</sup> and that of al-Bīmāristān al-Qaimarī.<sup>3</sup> Each of these two medallions is filled with an elaborate floral design carved in stucco (Fig. 214).

The remains of the few examples of window grilles indicate that this type of decoration was common in the Ayyūbid period. The most clear and complete examples are those of al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī.<sup>4</sup> Fragments of other window grilles are found in al-Turba al-Najmiya, al-Madrasa al-Maridāniya and al-Madrasa al-Jahārkasiya.<sup>5</sup>

### c. Painted Decoration

The surviving examples of painted decoration in Ayyūbid domed buildings in Syria indicate that the interior of many of these buildings was richly adorned with this type of

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1. Sauvaget, "MAD", p. 31.

2. Ibid., p. 70 and Pl. XV.

3. On this medallion see Herzfeld, "Damascus. III", p. 35.

4. On these window grilles see J. Bourgoïn "Les Eléments de l'Art Arabe, Le trait des entrelacs" (Paris, 1879), p. 46, Pl. IV.

5. A piece of coloured glass was found in one of the windows of al-Madrasa al-Jahārkasiya (see Sauvaget, "MAD", p. 43, Fig. 25).



decoration. It was applied to form medallions on the concave surfaces of some squinches and niches, e.g. al-Turba al-Farrūkhshāhiya<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 165), al-Turba al-Najmiya (Fig. 42) and Turbat al-Badrī (Fig. 109). It occurred before the Ayyūbid period in the turba of Safwat al-Mulk.<sup>2</sup> Each of the medallions of Turbat al-Badrī and al-Madrasa al-Farrūkhshāhiya consists of an oval figure framed with spiral leaf scrolls. The inside of the medallion is filled with arabesques arranged symmetrically around a vertical axis. Each of the medallions of al-Turba al-Najmiya is a circular figure filled with geometrical interlacing designs.

Paint was used in adorning the exterior of the turba in al-Madrasa al-‘Izziya.<sup>3</sup> All of the upper parts of the outer surface of the turba in al-Madrasa al-‘Izziya, which was replastered just recently, were covered with pink paint. Around the lower parts of the dome there was a wide band of flower work of the same colour (Fig. 210). This is regarded as the oldest example in Syria of painted decoration on the exterior; other buildings in Damascus whose external walls are adorned with painted flower work do not occur before the IXth/XVth century.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the above-mentioned examples, paint was

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1. Sauvaget, "MAD", pp. 31-4.

2. *Ibid.*, Pl. III.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 73, n. 162. The same design is shown on the exterior of al-Turba al-Shibliya in a drawing by Herzfeld ("Damascus. III", p. 54, Fig. 76).

employed for inscriptions inside some Ayyūbid buildings, e.g. Turbat al-Badrī (Fig. 110) and al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī.

The colours of paint used in Ayyūbid architectural decoration are white, pink, black and blue with their varying shades.

#### d. Marble

The employment of marble was very rare in the Ayyūbid buildings of Syria. The few examples found in Damascus and Aleppo show the influence of northern Mesopotamia in this respect. The lower parts of some walls of two buildings of this period<sup>1</sup> are adorned with large slabs of marble. This feature occurs in nearly all the Islamic buildings of Mosul even to the present day. Its prototype is found in the Assyrian buildings around Mosul.

The other method of marble decoration is marble mosaic. It appeared in Islam in a highly developed phase in the middle of the VIth/XIIth century. The earliest dated example so far published occurs in al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī (Fig. 427). The spandrels of the mihrāb in the south īwān are decorated in this way, the pattern consisting of small squares containing smaller squares. The pattern is very simple, being based on a network of lines drawn at an angle of 45° to the horizontal.<sup>2</sup>

The next example, which is much more elaborate, occurs at Mosul in Imām Muḥsin which was originally the turba of

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1. Al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī, and Maqām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal at Aleppo.

2. Creswell, "MAE", II, p. 202.

‘Izz al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ibn Mawdūd Ibn Zangī and which dates from 607/1210.<sup>1</sup> The mosaic or the inlaid marble is designed in this example not only to form a fine geometrical pattern, but also to form a naskh inscription (Fig. 428). Other examples occur in the inscriptions of Yahyā Ibn al-Qāsim and Imām ‘Awn al-Dīn at Mosul and in the turba of Baybars I at Damascus which was built in 680/1281.<sup>2</sup>

This method of decoration was employed in Egypt first in the turba of Qalā’ūn which was built in 683-4/1284-5. This feature was evidently borrowed from Syria.<sup>3</sup>

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1. ‘Abbū, op.cit., p. 183.

2. On this building see Creswell "MAE", II, pp. 131-2.

3. Ibid., II, p. 203.

## Section 9.

## Inscriptions

Basically, the inscriptions of Ayyūbid buildings are engraved on one or more lintels of the windows or entrances which open onto the street. They are written in several lines within rectangular panels. Some buildings have inscriptions in the interior, particularly around the drum.<sup>1</sup> This feature was commonly employed in the contemporary domes of Persia and Mesopotamia. The script used in these texts is mostly Ayyūbid naskh. Kufic was used in two cases.<sup>2</sup> The style of Ayyūbid naskh is different in Aleppo from that used in Damascus. In the former case the letters are larger, more rounded and less formal; it is nearer to the Mamlūk naskh than that of Damascus.

The inscriptions contain, in general, the name of the founder of the building, the name of the person who is buried in the turba - if the building is a turba - a list of the awqāf of the building, and its date. Koranic verses are usually included at the beginning or the end of the inscription. The contents of these verses reflect the purpose of the building. There are certain Koranic verses usually written on mosques, e.g. Sūra IX, 18, which reads:

انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر .

1. Cf. al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī, al-Turba al-Badriya and the turba of al-Madrassa al-Nūriya.
2. It is used in a band around the interior of the drum in al-Turba al-Badriya and in a text dated from the reign of Nūr al-Dīn in Mashhad al-Muḥassin in Aleppo. These are the only two examples of monumental Kufic script found in the Ayyūbid period.

"He only shall tend Allah's sanctuaries who believeth in Allah and the Last Day".<sup>1</sup> This verse occurs on Jāmi' al-Tawba, al-Turba al-Badriya,<sup>2</sup> Qubbat al-Amjād and al-Madrassa al-Qilījiya.

If the building were a turba it would have different verses from those on a mosque. The verses in turbas usually remind people that death is inevitable; an example is Sūra LV, 26-7 which reads:

كل من عليها فان ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والاكرام

"Everyone that is thereon will pass away; there remaineth but the countenance of the Lord of Might and Glory".<sup>3</sup>

These verses occur on al-Turba al-'Alā'iya, Turbat al-Ḥasan Ibn Salāma al-Raqqī and the turba of al-Madrassa al-'Izziya. These verses are commonly written at the beginning of inscriptions on tombstones. A verse of similar meaning is found on al-Turba al-Qaimariya. It is Sūra III, 185, which reads:

كل نفس ذائقة الموت

"Every soul will taste of death".<sup>4</sup>

In addition, there are some verses mentioning the reward and blessing of God to those who do good deeds, such as the verses in al-Turba al-Qarājiya which read:

قيل ادخل الجنة قال يا ليت قومي يعلمون بما غفر لي ربي وجعلني من المكرمين. (Sūra XXXVI, 26-7)

1. M. Pickthall, "The Meaning of the Glorious Koran" (New York, 3rd ed., 1954), p. 146.

2. Although this turba was later converted into a mosque, the explanation for the presence of this inscription is probably to be sought in the fact that the turba contains an unusual number of Koranic quotations.

3. Pickthall, op.cit., p. 382.

4. Ibid., p. 77.

"It was said (unto him): Enter Paradise. He said: would that my people knew With what (munificence) my Lord hath pardoned me and made me of the honoured ones!"<sup>1</sup>

Similar verses are found in al-Turba al-Faranthiya; these read:

ان الذين قالوا ربنا الله ثم استقاموا تنزل عليهم الملائكة الا  
تخافوا ولا تحزنوا وابشروا بالجنة التي كنتم توعدون نحن اوليؤكم في  
الحياة الدنيا وفي الآخرة ولكم فيها ما تشتهي انفسكم ولكم فيها ما  
تدعون نزلا من غفور رحيم .  
(Sūra XLI, 30-32).

"Lo! those who say: Our Lord is Allah and afterward are upright, the angels descend upon them saying: Fear not nor grieve, but hear good tidings of the paradise which ye are promised.

We are your protecting friends in the life of the world and in the Hereafter. There ye will have (all) that your souls desire, and there ye will have (all) for which ye pray

A gift of welcome from the Forgiving, the Merciful."<sup>2</sup>

As these buildings (madrasas, turbas, mosques or other buildings) are endowed with waqf for their maintenance, many of them still retain the list of their waqf among the inscriptions. Details of the income of the waqf are sometimes given.<sup>3</sup> Some of these lists end with a verse which warns those who change the waqf to beware of the curse of God.

1. Pickthall, op.cit., p. 316.

2. Ibid., p. 342.

3. Cf. al-Madrassa al-Rukniya and al-Madrassa al-Murshidiya.

This verse, which is Sūra II, 181, occurs in the inscriptions of al-Madrassa al-Nūriya and al-Madrassa al-Rukniya. It reads:

فَمَنْ بَدَّلَهُ بَعْدَمَا سَمِعَهُ فَإِنَّمَا أَثَمَةٌ عَلَى الَّذِينَ يَبَدِّلُونَهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ

عليه م .  
 "And changeth (the will) after he hath heard it - the sin thereof is only upon those who change it. Lo! Allah is Hearer, Knower".<sup>1</sup>

Beside these verses there is "Āyat al-Kursī" (Koran, II, 255) which is found on many buildings all over the Islamic world. The reason was probably because it was considered the most holy verse in the Koran.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Pickthall, op.cit., p. 49.

2. For an analysis of this verse see Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī, "Al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān" (Cairo, 1936), III, pp. 268-79.



## APPENDIX 1

Ṣūfism and the term "al-gharīb"

Herzfeld links the term "al-gharīb" ("the stranger" - in his words "the exiled") with Ṣūfism because this term occurs on some Ṣūfis' tombs, such as those of Muḥammad al-Fārisī in Cairo and 'Alī Ibn Abū Bakr al-Harawī at Aleppo ("Damascus. III", pp. 52-3).

On looking through the inscriptions which contain the term "al-gharīb" on turbas or tombs, and comparing them with those which do not contain this term, one is led to conclude that Herzfeld's interpretation is incorrect. Several reasons may be adduced for this.

1. The term "al-gharīb" occurs on some turbas belonging to people who have never been Ṣūfis, such as al-Turba al-'Alā'iya (supra, p. 37 ), and that of the Qāḍī Abū 'l-Ma'alī Hibat Allah Muḥammad Ibn Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī, who died in 604H and was buried in Mecca ("Rep." No. 3631).

2. The term "al-gharīb" occurs on the tombs and turbas of strangers who left their home towns to live in other places; examples are 'Alā' al-Dīn, who came from Mosul and died and was buried at Damascus; al-Qāḍī Jamāl al-Dīn Ishāq, who left Mosul for Mecca and died in 610/1213 and was buried there ("Rep." No. 3731); and Muḥammad al-Fārisī, who was Persian, as his name "al-Fārisī" indicates, and who died in Cairo and was buried there ("Rep." No. 3923).

3. There are some men who were Ṣūfis but the inscriptions on their tombs do not contain the term "al-gharīb" - for

instance Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Ḥasan the Ṣufī, who was known as the Shaikh of Ṣūfism and who died in 612/1215 ("Rep." No. 3749). Another example is 'Alī al-Farānthī who died in 621/1224 (supra, p. 76 ).

Thus the reason for writing the term "al-gharīb" on tombs and turbas is not to indicate that the man was a Ṣūfi. Rather is it connected with funeral ceremonies. The dead man needs someone to read "al-Fātiḥa", the first Sūra of the Koran, for him and to pray for God to bless him. As the stranger has no relatives to do this for him, the term "al-gharīb" is written on his tomb to attract the sympathy and kindness of passers-by so that they may read al-Fātiḥa for him and pray for God to forgive him.

The translation of the inscription of Turbat al-Harawī shows this point clearly. It reads: "...This is the turba of the slave, he who needs the mercy of God, al-gharīb (the stranger), the lonely, 'Alī Ibn Abū Bakr al-Harawī. He lived a stranger and died in loneliness with no friends to bewail him, no intimate to weep over him, no relatives to visit him, no brothers to support him, no son to take care of him, and no wife to mourn for him" ("Rep." No. 3612).

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